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I.—THE OEDIPUS COLONEUS OF SOPHOCLES.

263-269.

*κάμοιγε ποῦ ταῦτ' ἐστίν; οἵτινες βάθρων
 ἐκ τῶνδ' ἐξάραντες εἴτ' ἐλαύνετε
 ὄνομα μόνον δείσαντες· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τό γε
 σῶμ' οὐδὲ τάργα τᾶμ'· ἐπεὶ τά γ' ἔργα μου
 πεπονθότ' ἐστὶ μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα,
 εἴ σοι τὰ μητρὸς καὶ πατρὸς χρεῖη λέγειν,
 ὧν εἶνεκ' ἐκφοβέει με.*
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So long as vv. 266 sq. stand in every edition of Sophocles as they stand above I hardly comprehend why the editors should alter the MS reading anywhere. Once let me steel myself to endure *ἔργα πεπονθότα μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα* and the scribes might do their worst: I could always murmur *τέτλαθι δὴ, κραδίη· καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης*. The sense is to be Shakespeare's 'I am a man more sinned against than sinning': that the Greek words may yield it, either *τὰ ἔργα μου* must mean *ἐγώ*, or else *πεπονθότα μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα* must mean *ὑπενηνεγμένα μᾶλλον ἢ δεδραμένα* or, as some prefer to put it, *πεπονθότος μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότος*. To state such propositions is to explode them, one would fancy; yet they are entertained, because critics will acquiesce in solecisms which they think they cannot emend: *durum, sed leuius fit patientia quidquid corrigere est nefas*. The correction here, though simple, is not obvious, so the editors, instead of resolving to find it, content themselves with collecting what they take for parallels; and a survey of the collection will suggest that their discriminating faculties have been a trifle numbed, as is not surprising, by the Gorgonian terrors of their text.

I have first to clear the air of matter so irrelevant that I cannot even guess by what confusion of thought it is brought into this connexion. A common method of forming abstract substantives in Greek is to prefix the article to the neuter of an adjective: ἀνδρείος *courageous*, τὸ ἀνδρεῖον *courage*. Participles are adjectives, and from them, as from other adjectives, abstract substantives are formed by this method: θαρσῶν *confident*, τὸ θαρσοῦν *confidence*. Thus Sophocles at Phil. 674 sq. has τὸ νοσοῦν *sickness*, Euripides or his interpolator at I. A. 1270 τὸ κείνου βουλόμενον *his wish*; in Thucydides examples are frequent, I 36 τὸ δεδιὸς αὐτοῦ and τὸ θαρσοῦν *apprehension* and *confidence*, 90 τὸ βουλόμενον καὶ ὑποπτον (the participle side by side with another adjective which is not a participle) τῆς γνώμης *wish* and *suspicion*, II 59 τὸ ὀργιζόμενον τῆς γνώμης *irritation*, III 10 ἐν τῇ διαλλάσσοντι τῆς γνώμης *change*, V 9 τοῦ μένοντος *stand*, VI 24 τὸ ἐπιθυμοῦν τοῦ πλοῦ *eagerness*, VII 68 τῆς γνώμης τὸ θυμούμενον *fury*. Accordingly, when the MSS of Sophocles give τὸ ποθοῦν at Trach. 196, that, though it makes no sense in its context, is Greek for *desire*; and if at O. C. 1604 they gave what they do not give, τοῦ δρῶντος, that would be Greek for *activity*. The reader will be asking me what all this has to do with the matter in hand; and truly I do not know. But Prof. Campbell, in the essay on the language of Sophocles prefixed to his edition, adduces several of these examples and then bewilders me by proceeding thus, 'In the following instances the action is similarly identified with the agent or subject, although a *state* is not described': here follows our passage. Similarly identified! τὸ μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦν τοῦ πλοῦ οὐκ ἐξήρέθησαν *they were not deprived of their eagerness for the voyage*: is the action (or the state) here identified with the agent or subject? does it mean *they were not deprived of themselves*? Yet Prof. Jebb says the same thing over again: 'The agent's activities (τὰ ἔργα μου) here stand for the agent himself. . . . So [my italics] a particular activity of a person's mind is sometimes expressed by the active participle (neut.) of a verb to which the person himself would properly be subject'; and he quotes Thuc. I 36, 90, II 59, given above. I cannot even conjecture where the analogy is imagined to lie. Is it meant that in Thuc. II 59, for instance, 'the agent's activities stand for the agent himself,' and that ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ ὀργιζόμενον τῆς γνώμης *having removed the irritation of their mind* stands for ἀπαγαγὼν αὐτοὺς ὀργιζομένους? I suppose not; and yet, if not, what are these quotations doing in a note which professes to show that τὰ ἔργα μου means ἐγώ?

A traditional parallel is O. t. 1214 sq. γάμον τεκνοῦντα καὶ τεκνούμενον; and though it is not really a parallel, it is nevertheless an analogous phenomenon. τεκνοῦντα καὶ τεκνούμενον *begetter and begotten in one* are words properly applicable to Oedipus himself, and not to his marriage, yet to his marriage they are applied; similarly, it may be said, πεπονθότα and δεδρακότα, though properly applicable only to Oedipus himself, can be applied to his deeds. But, in the first place, if you mean to match the absurdity of ἔργα δεδρακότα, γάμος τεκνούμενος will not serve: it asks nothing short of γάμος γεγαμηκός. And, secondly, it is no private suspicion of mine, but the general opinion, that O. t. 1214 is corrupt. The whole passage runs thus: ἐφηῦρέ σ' ἄκουθ' ὁ πάνθ' ὀρώων χρόνος. | δικάζει τὸν ἄγαμον γάμον πάλαι | τεκνοῦντα καὶ τεκνούμενον. This breakneck asyndeton is accepted, I think, by no modern editor but Prof. Jebb. The vulgate is Hermann's δικάζει τ' ἄγαμον, which rids us indeed of the asyndeton, but defaces the metre in the process. I have little doubt that the truth has been recovered by Prof. Campbell, δικάζει τ' ἐν ἀγάμῳ γάμῳ (perhaps -οις -οις) πάλαι κτλ. With τ' ἐν once altered to τὸν, the other change would follow easily; and now the anomalies of diction and connexion disappear together. But even in its corrupt form, as I said above, the phrase was not a parallel to ἔργα δεδρακότα.

Now turning from the attempts to make τὰ ἔργα μου mean ἐγώ, I approach the attempts to make πεπονθότα μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα mean ὑπενηνεγμένα (or πεπονθότος) μᾶλλον ἢ δεδραμένα (or δεδρακότος); and here again there is confusion to be dispelled. There exists in Greek, as in other languages, a catachresis of the participle which is well illustrated by El. 1231 γεγηθὸς ἔρπει δάκρυον ὀμμάτων ἄπο. The tear does not rejoice: the participle means not *rejoicing* but *betokening joy*: we render in English *a tear of joy*. In this modified sense participles signifying any mental state are placed in agreement with substantives signifying any outward sign of that mental state, oftenest with substantives meaning *words*: Phil. 1045 sq. βαρεῖαν ὁ ξένος φάτιν | τήνδ' εἶπ', 'Οδυσσεῦ, κοῦχ ὑπέεικονσαν κακοῖς *showing a spirit that does not yield*, O. C. 74 ὅσ' ἂν λέγωμεν, πάνθ' ὀρώωντα λέξομεν *words of a seeing soul*, 1281 sq. ῥήματ' ἡ τέρψαντά τι | ἡ δυσχεράναντ' ἡ κατοικτίσαντά πως *evincing anger or pity*;¹ and finite verbs are also thus employed, as at Aesch. sept. 425 ὁ κόμπος δ' οὐ κατ' ἀνθρώπον φρονεῖ, Eur. Cycl. 58 sq. ποθοῦσί σ'

¹ I assume for the nonce, with most editors, what I think very doubtful, that these two verbs are not transitive.

ἀμερόκοιτοι βλαχαὶ σμικρῶν τεκέων. On this analogy ἔργα μαινόμενα would be Greek for *acts of a madman, acts bewraying madness*; thus we find ὄρμη and ἔριδι and ἐλπίδι μαινομένη. Whether ἔργα πεπονθότα will thus have anything fit to be called a meaning I hardly feel sure and do not stay to consider, because about ἔργα δεδρακότα at least there can be no mistake. δεδρακώς and participles of that signification are never thus used, because the occasion for such use can never arise; and if they were thus used they still could not be joined to ἔργα or substantives of that signification except to raise a laugh. γεγηθὸς δάκρυον justifies ἔργα μαινόμενα: it will be time to think of ἔργα δεδρακότα when they find us γεγηθῦα γηθοσύνη.

Mr. Blaydes quotes μαινομένοις ἄχεσιν from Ajax 957 ἧ ῥα κελαινώπαν θυμὸν ἐφυβρίζει | πολύτλας ἀνὴρ, | γελᾷ δὲ τοῖς μαινομένοις ἄχεσιν | πολὺν γέλωτα. If this phrase were sound it would be extraordinary, although no parallel to ἔργα δεδρακότα: that wants μαινομέναις μανίαις. But turn to Mr. Blaydes' own edition of the Ajax and we find him writing 'The expression μαινομένοις ἄχεσιν has always seemed to me open to suspicion': 'mit Grund' says Nauck. I conceive there is a sense in which the words are Greek: the imaginary woes of a madman who fancies that he has committed the Unpardonable Sin, or that he is an hourglass which wants inverting because its sand has run through, are μαινόμενα ἄχη *woes arguing madness*. But the participle cannot signify, as the scholiast would have it and as the context requires, διὰ τὴν μανίαν συμβεβηκόσιν, the dishonor and death of Ajax brought to pass by his frenzy. Now, no editor reads this verse as it runs in the MSS, for it fails to answer the strophic 911 ἐγὼ δ' ὁ πάντα κωφὸς ὁ πάντ' αἰδρῖς: they alter τοῖς either to τοῖσι, with Triclinius, or better, with Elmsley, to τοῖσδε. When a verse presents false metre and anomalous phrase together it appears to crave an emendation emending both, such as γελᾷ δὲ τοῖσδ' ἰαινόμενός γ' ἄχεσιν | πολὺν γέλωτα: γε marks the ascent from less to greater, as in Ar. ran. 562 ἐβλεψεν ἔς με δριμύ κάμυνκάτό γε, Soph. Phil. 1296, etc.: δ is early confused with λ, and λῃ later with μ: observe that Tecmessa replies 961 οἱ δ' οὖν γελώντων καπνῆ-χαιρόντων κακοῖς | τοῖς τοῦδ'. But take this conjecture or leave it, μαινομένοις ἄχεσιν falls short of ἔργα δεδρακότα.

They quote O. C. 239 sq. ἔργων ἀκόντων and 977 ἄκων πρᾶγμα where ἄκων has the sense *unintentional* which is commonly expressed by ἀκούσιος. But how naturally ἄκων assumes this meaning, if indeed it does not rather possess it by nature, may be

seen from the identical use of the corresponding words in Latin and English: Ovid ex Pont. II 1, 16 writes 'inuita saepe iuuamur ope' a boon not meant for me, and we talk of an unwitting injury or an unwilling consent. And still more striking in this connexion is the fact that just as Sophocles uses ἄκων for ἀκούσιος, so does he use ἐκούσιος conversely for ἐκόν: Phil. 617 sq. οἷοιτο μὲν μάλισθ' ἐκοῦσιον λαβών, | εἰ μὴ θέλοι δ', ἄκοντα and Trach. 1123 οἷς θ' ἤμαρτεν οὐχ ἐκουσία. If, then, ἔργων ἀκόντων justified ἔργα δεδρακότα = ἔργα δεδραμένα, ἤμαρτεν οὐχ ἐκουσία would equally justify ὁ δρασθεὶς = ὁ δράσας; but, since the copyists do not happen to have soiled our texts with this solecism, it will not find defenders.

Then they quote τὸν εὖ πράττοντα τοῖχον from Ar. ran. 536 sq. μετακλινθεὶν αὐτὸν αἰεὶ | πρὸς τὸν εὖ πράττοντα τοῖχον *the prosperous side of the ship*, i. e. the side where the sailors are prosperous. Why this is cited, and why, if cited, it is cited alone out of the scores and hundreds of passages where the character of a place's tenants is given to the place, I will not try to divine. If this is a parallel, the literature teems with parallels: Eur. Alc. 566 sq. τὰ μὰ δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται | μέλαθρ' ἀπωθεῖν οὐδ' ἀτιμάζειν ξένους, etc., etc.: any one who cared could fill a book with them. Sophocles himself has a very curious instance which I benevolently proffer to the editors, not indeed as apposite, but as less strangely inapposite than most of their citations: frag. 176 εὐναῖος εἴη δραπετὶν στέγην ἔχων *a runaway abode*, i. e. a hare's form. And finally they quote a phrase occurring in Libanius' declamation Φιλάργγρος ἀποκηρύττει, vol. IV, p. 626, 22, ed. Reiske, λαμβάνων, αἰτῶν, εἰσπράττων, ἀγείρων, πάντα εἰς τὴν κερδαίνουσαν πῆραν ὥθειν ἀξίων and explained by the Phrynichus Bekkeri anecd. Gr., vol. I, p. 39, 27 εἰς τὴν κερδαίνουσαν πάντα ὥθειν πῆραν· τὸ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου κερδαίνειν σημαίνει. Because the pouch into which gains are put is called *the gain-getting pouch*, therefore *my deeds have suffered rather than acted* means . . . I discern no end to the sentence.

Behold the evidence on which contemporary commentators take τὰ ἔργα μου for ἐγώ and active participles for passive! More will be forthcoming, never fear, when the conservatives find the text assailed and fly to arms in its defence; and, of course, I can no more foresee their next array of parallels than I could have foreseen the medley which I have here been trying to sort for them. But there occurs now and again, both in Greek and in Latin, an idiom which will hardly escape their notice in the general ransack; and on this I will put in a word beforehand. It

is not frequent, and some apparent instances are, in my judgment, corrupt, as O. C. 658 and Ant. 1135; but here are two clear examples: Aesch. sept. 348 sqq. βλαχαὶ δ' αἱματόεσσαι τῶν ἐπιμαστιδίων ἀρτιτρεφεῖς βρέμονται, and Enn. ann. ap. Varr. ling. Lat. VII 104 'clamor ad caelum uoluendu per aethera uagit.' The βρόμος is not made by the βληχαί but it *is* the βληχαί, the 'uagitus' is not made by the 'clamor' but it *is* the 'clamor'; and yet the poets have written as we see. What hinders, then, that another poet should write ἔργα δεδρακότα, though the δράμα is not done by the ἔργα but *is* the ἔργα? Well, an answer which satisfies me is that the one phenomenon is exemplified and the other is not. But if you will have a reason, I suppose it is that voices are far more readily separable in conception from the speaker than are acts from the doer. The uttered sound flies away like a thing possessing a life and an initiative of its own, and so in these phrases it comes to be conceived as a cause, when in truth it is only an effect. Any one, I think, may convince himself by trial that *voice* calls up in his mind a more vivid and definite notion than *deed*; and however it may be with us, it certainly was thus with the ancients. Words in Homer are fledged with wings and break loose from the fence of the teeth, they leap on high in Aesch. cho. 846, they hover in a living swarm round the murderer at Soph. O. t. 482. Deeds are not found exhibiting these signs of independent vitality; and similarly, while cries are said to wail and wails to cry, deeds are not said to act.

One real parallel to δεδρακότα = δεδραμένα I know: Musgrave long ago quoted Apoll. Rhod. IV 156 ἀρκεύθοιο νέον τετμηότι θαλλῶ, whence it clearly appears that τετμηότι means τετμημένῳ in Apollonian, a picturesque dialect but depraved. The editors of Sophocles quote this no longer, considering, I suppose, that the fact, though interesting, is unimportant. We have not the means of tracing how the Alexandrians fell into all their blunders, but here one might guess that Apollonius misconstrued some passage in the elder literature where τετμηότα or τετμηκότα governed θαλλόν.

It is duly noted by Hermann, though recent editors do not repeat it, that our text is at least as old as the second century after Christ: Aristid. ὑπὲρ τῶν τεττάρων, vol. II, p. 231 Jebb, vol. II, p. 304 Dindorf, ἐκείνων μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς αἴτιοι τὸ μέρος, τούτων δὲ οὐδὲ μικρόν· ἀλλὰ ταῦθ', ὡς ἔφη Σοφοκλῆς, πεπονθότα ἐστὶ μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα. This piece of evidence has its use, since it warns the emender to presume such errors only as might befall before the date of

Aristides. It is nothing strange that the text should already be corrupt in the sixth century after Sophocles' death: Didymus a hundred and fifty years earlier found v. 4 of the *Antigone* in its present condition. And it is nothing strange that Aristides should accept the active participles for passive without demur: Didymus interpreted ἄτης ἄτερ to signify ἀτηρόν; and Aristides' contemporaries habitually said ἀνέφγεν ἢ θύρα when they meant ἀνέφκται.

Before correcting the error I have one more point to urge. To grasp the full perversity of the phrase imputed to Sophocles you must remember that he more than once repeats this same idea; that to convey it he employs these same verbs or others of the same meaning; and that he employs them not as here, but correctly. In the immediate context comes 271 παθὼν μὲν ἀντίδρων, 274 ὑφ' ὧν δ' ἔπασχον, εἰδότες ἀπωλλύμην; then 538 sq. XO. ἔπαθες OI. ἔπαθον ἄλαστ' ἔχειν. | XO. ἔρεξας OI. οὐκ ἔρεξα, 962 sqq. φόνους . . . καὶ γάμους καὶ συμφορὰς . . . ἄς ἐγὼ τάλας | ἤνεγκον ἄκων, 1196 πατρῶα καὶ μητρῶα πῆμαθ' ἄπαθες. Nay, more: the phrase itself is not new, not Sophocles' own. His words are borrowed from Eur. frag. 711 παθόντες οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότες, a verse already familiar, already mimicked by Aristophanes thesm. 518 sq. κατ' Εὐριπίδῃ θυμούμεθα, | οὐδὲν παθοῦσαι μείζον ἢ δεδράκαμεν. Was such jargon as ἔργα πεπονθότα μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα the likelier to please the Attic audience when they recognized in it the words of a well-known verse suddenly instinct with unknown meanings?

I suppose Sophocles to have written

ἐπεὶ τὰ γ' ἔργα με
πεπονθότ' ἴσθι μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα.

πεπονθότα and δεδρακότα are acc. sing. masc. ἴσθι με πεπονθότα μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα is the well-known emphatic periphrasis for πέπονθα μᾶλλον ἢ δέδρακα: *I tell you that as for my deeds, I did them not, but suffered them.* Lest it be thought that ἴσθι creates any difficulty in view of εἴ σοι . . . χρεὶν λέγειν, let me remind the reader that vv. 266 sq., alike in the old reading and in mine, are not the apodosis to that protasis: the apodosis is not expressed at all, but understood, 'quod intellegeres, si . . . tibi exponere mihi liceret,' Wunder: vv. 266 sq. are an independent statement and no part of a conditional sentence. ICΘI in uncials is hard to tell from TCΘI, which four letters are those of ECTI with the first and third transposed. This is a type of error which I have often illustrated but need not illustrate here, because it suffices to cite an inter-

change of the same two words from Eur. Bacch. 808 καὶ μὴν ξυνεθέ-
μην τοῦτό γ', ἴσθι, τῷ θεῷ: ἴσθι Musgrave, ἔστι MS. Since the σοι
of 268 stands nearer than the δέισαντες of 265, I prefer ἴσθι to ἴστε.

Whether the conclusion to which I have been led will seem
probable or improbable to others I cannot foresee; but this long
disputation will have achieved its main purpose if it induces the
editors to think.

357-360.

νῦν δ' αὖ τίν' ἦκεις μῦθον, Ἰσμήνη, πατρὶ
φέρουσα; τίς σ' ἐξῆρεν οἴκοθεν στόλος;
ἦκεις γὰρ οὐ κενή γε, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ σαφῶς
ἔξοιδα, μὴ οὐχὶ δεῖμ' ἐμοὶ φέρουσά τι.

This, too, I fear must be a long discussion, and through no
fault of mine. The scholars whose names follow have earned a
title to respect which is not forfeited even by such notes as they
have written on this passage. But of the notes themselves it
would be hard to speak too severely. They are vicious to a
degree which well-nigh protects them from refutation. So intri-
cate is the tangle of error that I scarce know where to begin the
task of unravelling it and half despair of making all its convolutions
clear: the spectacle of such confusion almost dizzies the brain.
If the argument proves tedious, I ask the reader to lay the blame
on the right shoulders and remember that making mistakes is
much quicker and easier work than showing that mistakes have
been made. The comments to be considered can have given
little trouble to those who wrote them, but for that very reason
they impose the more labor on him whose duty it is to examine
them.

'The somewhat vague οὐ κενή γε,' says Schneidewin, 'is more
closely defined by μὴ οὐχὶ δεῖμ' ἐμοὶ φέρουσά τι.' Here is a promising
commencement. οὐ κενή means *bringing something*, and if it is
'more closely defined,' the words which define it are δεῖμ' ἐμοὶ
φέρουσά τι *bringing some terror for me*; therefore the explanation
comes to this, that the words μὴ οὐχὶ mean exactly nothing. But
let us give our editor another chance and suppose him to have
meant that κενή, not οὐ κενή, was defined by this clause. Then the
οὐ of v. 359 is to be understood before μὴ οὐχὶ κτλ., and the sentence
is ἦκεις οὐ κενή, τουτέστιν ἦκεις οὐ μὴ οὐχὶ δεῖμ' ἐμοὶ φέρουσά τι. When
we have sufficiently admired this row of negatives (οὐ μὴ οὐχὶ
φέρουσα = φέρουσα) we shall desire to learn what function μὴ

performs in a clause which defines an adjective not hypothetical in sense, *κενή*. Vain to ask of Schneidewin, for it never occurs to him that *μή* requires explanation: quite otherwise, he sets about explaining *οὐχί*, and this is how he does it: '*μή οὐχί*, since the sense is *non ades quin feras*. Compare note on El. 107.' Mark first that this commentator, who undertakes to explain v. 360, does not know the contents of v. 359: he fancies it contains words meaning *non ades*, when in fact it contains nothing of the sort, but, on the contrary, *ἦκεισ οὐ κενή ades non sine nuntio*. Secondly, if the sense is *non ades quin feras*, the sense is nonsense, for those words are not Latin. To express the invariable concomitant of a recurring event, *you never come without bringing*, the Romans employ *quin* with the subjunctive, *numquam uenis quin feras*. The particular accompaniment of a single event, *you are not come without bringing*, they do not express thus, but regularly by a participial construction such as *non ades nullum adferens metum*. Would you learn why Schneidewin imports the Latin *quin* into the matter? turn, as he bids you, to his note on El. 107. El. 107 exhibits the construction of *μή οὐ* with the *infinitive*, *οὐ λίξω θρήνων μή οὐκ ἤχῳ προφωνεῖν*: *this* construction has its counterpart in a Latin use of *quin* with the subjunctive which he there illustrates from Sall. Cat. 53, 6 '*quos silentio praeterire non fuit consilium, quin utriusque naturam et mores aperirem*.' Therefore, when we encounter *ἦκεισ οὐ κενή μή οὐ δέϊμα φέρουσα*, we are expected, so lightly are our wits esteemed, to accept *quin* here also as equivalent to *μή οὐ* and never to notice that *φέρουσα* is not *φέρειν*!

Wunder, too, avails himself of this serviceable *quin*: '*neque enim uacua huc uenisti, certo scio, quin aliquid terroris mihi afferas, id est, neque enim ad me uenisti, quin aliquid afferas, quod quidem, ut fert fortuna mea, non potest non esse aliquid terribile*.' First he translates as if the Greek were *ἦκεισ οὐ κενή μή οὐχί δέϊμ' ἐμοὶ φέρειν τι*. Then, *quin* having served its turn by lulling to sleep our suspicions of *μή οὐχί*, he proceeds with '*id est*' to offer us, as if identical, a paraphrase in which '*neque enim ad me uenisti, quin aliquid afferas*' translates (into ungrammatical Latin, but no matter) the Greek *ἦκεισ οὐ κενή*, and not *μή οὐχί* at all. The note ends with a reference to O. t. 12 sq. *δυσάλγητος ἂν εἴην μή οὐ κατοικτίρων*, where *μή*, as usual, is conditional, and the only matter calling for any comment is the unnecessary *οὐ*: a reference, it will be observed, not only irrelevant to our text, but also incongruous with the pretence at explanation which we have just perused.

Prof. Jebb begins by saying that 'μή οὐχὶ . . . φέρουσα' explains the special sense of *κενή*. You have not come empty-handed, i. e. *without bringing* some terror for me': it will be seen that this is what Schneidewin probably intended, *ἦκεις οὐ κενή, τουτέστιν οὐ μή οὐχὶ φέρουσα*. But Mr. Jebb goes on to do what Schneidewin left undone and to essay an explanation of *μή*. '*μή οὐ* properly stands with a partic. in a negative statement only when *μή* could stand with it in the corresponding affirmative statement: thus (a) affirmative: *βραδὺς ἔρχει μή φέρων*, you (always) come slowly, *if* you are not bringing; (b) negative: *οὐ βραδὺς ἔρχει, μή οὐ φέρων*, you never come slowly, *unless* you are bringing. Here *μή οὐ* is irregular, because the affirmative form would be *ἦκεις οὐ (not μή) φέρουσα*, a simple statement of fact: and so the negative should be *οὐχ ἦκεις οὐ φέρουσα*.' Here is another editor who has forgotten v. 359 by the time he comes to v. 360. There is no *οὐχ ἦκεις*: the affirmative form would not be *ἦκεις*. What we have is *ἦκεις οὐ κενή*: the affirmative form would be *ἦκεις κενή*. But commentators engaged on v. 360 descry v. 359 half lost in the distance, indistinctly perceive an *οὐ* there, and imagine that it qualifies *ἦκεις*. If we correct this oversight, Mr. Jebb's remarks will look very strange, for they will run as follows: 'Here *μή οὐ* is irregular, because the affirmative form would be *ἦκεις κενή, οὐ (not μή) φέρουσα*, a simple statement of fact; and so the negative should be *ἦκεις οὐ κενή, οὐ φέρουσα*.' The negative, of course, should be *ἦκεις οὐ κενή, φέρουσα*. However, let us push forward: Mr. Jebb is about to account for *μή*. 'But *bringing bad news* is felt here as a *condition* of her coming. Hence *μή οὐ* is used as if the sentence were *formally* conditional: *οὐκ ἂν ἦλθες μή οὐ φέρουσα*.' I ask whether this statement of cause and effect really depicts any process which ever took place in the mind of man. I for my part have no experience of the perturbation of thought in which such things are possible, and I will not thus lightly impute it to my betters. You are come, and I feel *bringing bad news* to be a condition of your coming: well, I have no difficulty whatever in expressing that feeling: I can say 'you are come, so I know you bring bad news': nay, it would suffice to say 'you are come bringing bad news,' *ἦκεις φέρουσα δεῖμα* or *ἦκεις οὐ κενή ἀλλὰ φέρουσα δεῖμα*. It needs more proof, though no more is supplied, than the mere word of a modern editor, to assure us that Sophocles, because he felt bringing bad news as a condition of Ismene's coming, therefore employed language which conveys with perfect clearness not this sense but another.

For, to crown everything, the task before the editors is not merely to invest the sentence with meanings which it has not, but to divest it of a meaning which it has. ἤκεις οὐ κενὴ μὴ οὐχὶ δέϊμ' ἐμοὶ φέρουσά τι is Greek for 'you are not come empty-handed unless you bring some terror for me,' i. e. 'you bring some news unless you bring bad news, in which case you bring no news': utter nonsense, true, but that is what the words mean; and it is useless to yearn that they would mean something else or to make believe that they do.

I have endeavored to display the editorial comments in their true futility, and it now remains to try if the passage whose corruption provoked them can be amended. Grammarians will hardly smile on an attempt to rob them of a bone which they have long mumbled in the past and doubtless hope to mumble in the future; but this is what I propose:

ἤκεις γὰρ οὐ κενὴ γε, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ σαφῶς
ἔξοιδα· μὴ πον δέϊμ' ἐμοὶ φέρουσά τι;

num forte . . . ? Η and Π are easily and early confused, and the absorption of this in that leaves οὐ for the next scribe to alter to οὐχί. The verb ἤκεις is mentally supplied from above as at Trach. 316 μὴ τῶν τυράννων;

478-481.

ΟΙ. ἡ τοῖσδε κρῶσσοις οἷς λέγεις χέω τάδε;
ΧΟ. τρισσοῖς γε πηγὰς· τὸν τελευταῖον δ' ὄλον
ΟΙ. τοῦ τόνδε πλήσας θῶ; δίδασκε καὶ τόδε.
ΧΟ. ὕδατος, μελίσσης· μηδὲ προσφέρειν μέθυ.

'θῶ,' writes Prof. Jebb on v. 480, 'has raised needless doubts. The operator is to fetch water from the spring in the grove (469), fill the bowls which he will find ready, and *place* them in a convenient position for the rite.' If the text of Sophocles really contained this direction to the operator, which Mr. Jebb emphasizes with italics, to place the bowls in a convenient position, or any direction to place them in any position, our doubts would indeed be needless. But our doubts spring from the fact that the text of Sophocles contains not a syllable of the sort. In the whole context the sole allusion to the placing of the bowls is this disputed θῶ, which, since it proceeds from the lips of the operator himself, cannot possibly form part of any directions as to what the operator is to do. We have been listeners to the entire colloquy between Oedipus and his instructors; nothing has reached his ears which

has escaped ours; and neither he nor we have heard a word about placing the bowls. Mr. Jebb, from information privately received, knows that 'the operator is to place them in a convenient position for the rite'; but Oedipus does not. Why, then, instead of inquiring 'wherewith shall I fill it,' does he say 'wherewith shall I fill it ere I set it down'? for the matter now in hand is not setting down but pouring out. This is the question we ask ourselves and cannot answer, and therefore resort to conjectural emendation, Meineke proposing πλήρη θῶ and Wecklein, less appropriately, πλήσας φθῶ. I prefer a slighter alteration than either, merely to cancel θ as a dittography of C:

τοῦ τόνδε πλήσας ὦ; δίδασκε καὶ τόδε.

See Ant. 1067 ἀντιδοὺς ἔσει, O. t. 90 προδείσας εἰμί, II46 σιωπήσας ἔσει.

I will seize this opportunity of restoring a similar periphrasis to the defective verse Aesch. cho. 124:

κῆρυξ μέγιστε τῶν ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω,

Ἑρμῇ χθόνιε, κηρύξας ἐμοί,

124

τοὺς γῆς ἔνερθε δαίμονας κλύειν ἐμὰς

εὐχάς.

The metre lacks a foot and a half, the sense requires an optative or imperative verb. Most editors place the gap at the beginning of the line, and prefix Klausen's ἄρηξον or the like. But the words Ἑρμῇ χθόνιε occur again in this play at v. 1, and they commence that verse; hence a slight presumption that they commence this verse too, and that Canter rightly marked the hiatus after χθόνιε. I propose to write

Ἑρμῇ χθόνιε, <γένοιο> κηρύξας ἐμοί.

The loss of γένοιο after χθόνιε, from which it hardly differs except in the position of ν, was very easy: for the locution compare Phryn. trag. frag. 20 μή μ' ἀτιμάσας γένη, Soph. O. t. 957 αὐτός μοι σὺ σημήνας γενοῦ, Ajax 588, Phil. 773. The conjecture is confirmed by the opening of the play, Ἑρμῇ χθόνιε . . . σωτήρ γενοῦ μοι: with κῆρυξ . . . γένοιο κηρύξας ἐμοί compare sept. 145 Δύκει' ἄναξ, Δύκειος γενοῦ στρατῷ δαίφ.

515, 516.

μὴ πρὸς ξενίας ἀνοιξῆς

τὰς σᾶς πέπονθ' ἔργ' ἀναιδῆ.

Bothe's generally accepted restoration of the metre by altering πέπονθ' to the vocative πέπον is very properly scouted by Hermann

and Jebb: the latter excellently observes on this word, which never once occurs in tragedy, that it 'always marks familiarity: there is a touch of household intimacy in it, as when Polyphemus says to his ram, *κριὲ πέπον* (Od. 9. 447).' The rival amendment is Reisig's *ἀ πέπονθ' ἀναιδῆ*, and I do not doubt that his addition of *ἀ* is a true correction. But there are now two difficulties. The first, common to both readings but worse in this, is the word *ἀναιδῆ*, which Prof. Jebb quite mistranslates in 'bare not the *shame* that I have suffered.' *ἀναιδής* means not *shameful* but *shameless*, and the translation accordingly ought to be 'bare not the *shamelessness* that I have suffered.' *ἔργ' ἀναιδῆ* *shameless deeds* are words, as Nauck remarks, unsuitable to the ignorant acts of Oedipus, which were *άνόσια*, if you will, but not *ἀναιδῆ*. But when *ἔργα* disappears and leaves *ἀ πέπονθ' ἀναιδῆ*, this is too preposterous, that he should describe his parricide and incest as *shameless treatment* which he has received: who treated him shamelessly, and how? The second difficulty is peculiar to Reisig's reading: it is the difficulty, or rather impossibility, of explaining how *ἔργ'* found its way into the text. Mr. Jebb's account is not plausible: '*ἔργ'* was inserted in the MSS to explain that *ἀναιδῆ* referred to his own acts.' Scribes are not wont to be thus solicitous, and the insertion of *ἔργ'* does not effect its supposed purpose.

ἔργ' ἀναιδῆ comes from this:

ε ρ γ
αναιδη

ε ρ γ are the letters required for correcting *ἀναιδῆ* to the word from which it was corrupted by the three errors *a* for *ε*, *ι* for *ρ*, and *δ* for *γ*, the first not uncommon and the other two very easy in uncials.

μη πρὸς ξενίας ἀνοιξῆς
τὰς σῆς, ἀ πέπονθ', ἐναργῆ.

The adjective is part of the predicate: *lay not bare to the light the things I have endured.*

527, 528.

ἧ μητρόθεν, ὥς ἀκούω,
δυσώνυμα λέκτρ' ἐπλήσω;

I think *ἐπλήσω* grotesque and Nauck's *ἐπάσω* certain; but the two readings have the same general sense, and that sense I assert to be this: *didst thou, as I hear, marry thy sister?* Oedipus did not marry his sister, nor could any such report have reached

Colonus; the world rang with the true tale that he had married his mother. But to woo this meaning from the text the commentators exert themselves in vain. 'ματρόθεν is substituted for ματρός,' says Prof. Jebb, 'by a kind of euphemism: that was the quarter from which the bride was taken.' Renuit negitatque Sabellus. Iocasta, I submit, was not the quarter from which Iocasta was taken. Nor can I imagine with what aim Mr. Jebb proceeds 'cp. Aesch. *Theb.* 840 οὐδ' ἀπέειπεν | πατρόθεν εὐκταία φάτις (the curse of Oed. on his children).'

You may obtain the true sense by altering μητρόθεν to ματέρος with Nauck, or λέκτρ' to τέκν' with Gleditsch, or by writing with me

ἢ πατρόθεν, ὥς ἀκούω,
δυσώνυμα λέκτρ' ἐπάσω;

i. e. didst thou wed thy father's widow? a euphemism which would be much praised if it stood in the MSS. This is the change of one letter, προθεν for μροθεν; and at Ant. 980 the Laurentian has πατρός for ματρός. There was here much temptation to the error, for the scribe's mind would be running on Oedipus' mother, and it might well escape him, as it has escaped a long series of editors, that by importing the name he expelled the person.

720, 721.

ὦ πλείστ' ἐπαίνους εὐλογούμενον πέδον,
νῦν σοὶ τὰ λαμπρὰ ταῦτα δὴ φαίνειν ἔπη.

The above is the Laurentian text and cannot be construed: later MSS write δέι for δὴ and so obtain a construction of doubtful Atticism: the most of recent editors retain δὴ and change σοὶ to σὸν, which is Nauck's conjecture, or rather the half of Nauck's conjecture. Both alterations are ineffectual, because φαίνειν does not mean what it is wanted to mean. The real signification of φαίνειν ἔπη is easy to know, for the phrase is twice, if not thrice, elsewhere employed by Sophocles: Ant. 621 κλεινὸν ἔπος πέφανται, O. t. 525 τοῦπος δ' (τοῦ πρόσδ' L) ἐφάνθη, 848 ὥς φανέν γε τοῦπος ὧδ' ἐπίστασο; it means to *utter* a saying. But the λαμπρὰ ἔπη, the praises of Athens, are already uttered: the question is, will they be made good. Accordingly, the editors for the most part explain φαίνειν as *rata facere*, and refer with Hermann to Trach. 239 εὐκταία φαίνων, where, however, φαίνων, as in Hom. o 26, is simply πορσύνων and the phrase signifies *making votive oblation*.

Prof. Jebb, on the other hand, refusing to confer a new meaning on φαίνειν, bestows one instead on λαμπρὰ ἔπη: 'φαίνειν τὰ λαμπρὰ ἔπη = φαίνειν τὰς ἀρετὰς δι' ἃς ἐπαιεῖσθε': but in lieu of essaying to prove this equation, he quotes a parallel to the phrase φαίνειν ἀρετὰς, which is hardly what we ask for.

If we accept the whole of Nauck's conjecture, νῦν σὺν τὰ λαμπρὰ ταῦτα δὴ κραίνειν ἔπη, sense is restored; but the following comes a trifle nearer the text:

νῦν σ' ὀρθὰ λαμπρὰ ταῦτα δεῖ φαίνειν ἔπη.

now it behooves thee to show that this praise is true. For φαίνειν ὀρθὰ see O. t. 852 sq. οὔτοι ποτ', ὦναξ, τὸν γε Λαῖον φόνον | φανεῖ δικαίως ὀρθόν; for ὀρθὰ ἔπη, Ant. 1178 ὦ μάντι, τοῦπος ὡς ἄρ' ὀρθὸν ἤνυσας. Often in uncials the curved line of P bears much the same proportion to the upright stroke as the volute of an Ionic capital to the column which supports it, and it needs care to distinguish the letter from l: the change of θ to τ I should guess to be intentional, though it sometimes happens by accident.

755-760.

ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν τὰμφανῇ κρύπτειν, σὺ νιν	755
πρὸς θεῶν πατρώων, Οἰδίπους, πεισθεὶς ἐμοὶ	
κρύψον, θελήσας ἄστυ καὶ δόμους μολεῖν	
τοὺς σοὺς πατρώους, τήνδε τὴν πόλιν φίλως	
εἰπὼν· ἐπαξία γάρ· ἡ δ' οἴκοι πλέον.	
[δίκη σέβοιτ' ἄν, οὔσα σὴ πάλαι τροφός.]	760

Strike out v. 760. I do not insist on the fact that Corinth, and not Thebes, was properly the τροφός of Oedipus: it is enough to note the grammatical blunder of σέβοιτο in a passive sense and the obviousness of the interpolator's motive. The sentence ἡ δ' οἴκοι πλέον looked incomplete at a first glance, though the defect is apparent only: the sense is 'speak Athens fair, for she deserves it; but Thebes deserves it more.' φίλως εἰπὼν, like χαίρε itself, is applicable equally to the courtesies of farewell and of greeting: Athens is worthy that Oedipus should speak her friendly at parting, Thebes still more worthy that he should greet her fair at his return. The meaning is not obscure, but it asked more thought than a scribe is commonly willing to expend. As for v. 759, it will be retained unaltered by those who can stomach the phrase ἡ οἴκοι πόλις; others may write ἐκεῖ with Wecklein; others

again may prefer a slighter change which the deletion of v. 760 renders possible, οἱ δ' οἴκοι πλέον.

811-815.

- ΟΙ. ἄπελθ', ἐρῶ γὰρ καὶ πρὸ τῶνδε, μηδέ με
φύλασσ' ἐφορμῶν ἔνθα χρή ναίειν ἐμέ.
ΚΡ. μαρτύρομαι τούσδ', οὐ σέ· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς φίλους
οἷ' ἀνταμείβει ῥήματ', ἣν σ' ἔλω ποτέ,—
ΟΙ. τίς δ' ἂν με τῶνδε συμμάχων ἔλοι βία;

The traditional interpretation of 813 sq., which descends to us from Musgrave and Brunck, I present in Prof. Jebb's words: 'These men—not thee—call I to witness; but, as for the strain of thine answer to thy kindred, if ever I take thee——'. But hardly an editor outside England has let this go by without signifying incredulity. Whether such an aposiopesis be tolerable is a question rather for the taste than for the reason, so I set that aside. But, to begin with, I must ask what in the world it is that Creon calls the men of Colonus to witness, for not a suggestion does the context afford. 'Nempe iniuria se affici' interpolates Hermann: so be it; treat Sophocles like an infant learning to talk, and put into his mouth the words he cannot find for himself; but now δέ, as Nauck remarks, 'stört den Zusammenhang' by promising a transition to a fresh subject, instead of which we find only the same thing in another form, 'but as for your language to me.' But these are small matters beside the bewildering absurdity of μαρτύρομαι τούσδ', οὐ σέ. 'οὐ σέ ist sinnlos: denn unmöglich kann Oid. selbst zum Zeugen seiner Ungerechtigkeit genommen werden,' Nauck. Had Oedipus even hinted that Creon was calling him to witness anything at all? Is it in the category of imaginable things that when you are quarrelling with a man you should call that man himself to witness how he is behaving? Does there exist a notion to which such words correspond? my mind frames none.

I would emend the verses thus;

μαρτύρομαι σου τούσδε προσθέτους φίλους .
οἷ' ἀνταμείβει ῥήματ', ἣν σ' ἔλω ποτέ.

I take these new allies of yours to witness how you answer me, in case I ever lay hands on you: that my conduct may be justified. If the sentence were οἶδε μάρτυρες ἔστων οἷ' ἀνταμείβει ῥήματ', ἣν σ' ἔλω

ποτέ it would be exactly parallel to Hom. A 338 sqq. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ μάρτυρες ἔστων | πρὸς τε θεῶν μακάρων πρὸς τε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων | καὶ πρὸς τοῦ βασιλῆος ἀπηνέος, εἴ ποτε δὴ¹ αὐτε | χρειῶ ἐμείο γένηται ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀμῦναι | τοῖς ἄλλοις. The difference is that in our passage the apodosis is not set out in words, but only suggests itself to the mind as a sequel of μαρτύρομαι, as thus: μαρτύρομαι τούσδε <ἵνα μάρτυρες ὦσιν> ἢν σ' ἔλω ποτέ. Such suppression of an apodosis is common enough: see, for instance, Thuc. III 21 εἶχε μὲν (τὸ τεῖχος) δύο τοὺς περιβόλους, πρὸς τε Πλαταιῶν καὶ εἴ τις ἔξωθεν ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν ἐπίοι 'the circumvallation consisted of two lines, one towards the besieged, the other *for protection* in case of any attack on the outside from Athens.' The sense of the adjective in πρόσθετος φίλος answers to the verbal προστίθεμαι φίλον: Her. I 69 τὸν Ἑλληνα φίλον προσθέσθαι, and compare too v. 1332 of this play, οἷς ἂν σὺ προσθῇ, τοῖσδ' ἔφασκ' εἶναι κράτος: there is allusion to the words of Oedipus just above, 811 ἐρῶ γὰρ καὶ πρὸ τῶνδε; and he has τῶνδε συμμάχων in his reply 815. I do not know that πρόσθετος is thus employed elsewhere, and Sophocles may have been the first or even the only writer to use it so; but the use itself is no less legitimate than his employment, perhaps also for the first time, of the cognate προσθήκη in the same sense at O. t. 38 προσθήκη θεοῦ, schol. συμβουλή, ἐπικουρία. δ for θ is not one of the commonest errors, but neither is it uncommon: for the rest, σου τούσδε and τοῖσδ' οὐ σέ are the same letters: I shall guess that their transposition arose from the false division σ' οὐ τούσδε.

887-890.

τίς ποθ' ἢ βοή; τί τοῦργον; ἐκ τίνος φόβου ποτέ
 βουθυτοῦντά μ' ἀμφὶ βωμὸν ἔσχετ' ἐναλίφ θεῶ
 τοῦδ' ἐπιστάτῃ Κολωνοῦ; λέξαθ', ὥς εἰδῶ τὸ πᾶν
 οὐ χάριν δεῦρ' ἦξα θᾶσσον ἢ καθ' ἡδονὴν ποδός.

For the ποδός of 890 Nauck would substitute ἐμοί or else expel the verse. The addition of a genitive to the adverbial phrases καθ' ἡδονήν and πρὸς ἡδονήν is, to say the least, not customary, and this particular genitive is altogether inappropriate. Running does not tire the foot: it tires first the lungs, then the thighs and the arms; but a man may run till he drops and never feel the least distress in his feet. Walking exerts the muscles of the feet

¹ δὴ Bekker, La Roche, Ameis, Rzach, Monro, Leaf, δ' MSS.

more than running, and even in walking one must go many miles to be footsore; but Theseus has never been out of earshot. I think we have here an example of that confusion between *a* and *os* which Porson illustrates at Eur. Hec. 782, and I would alter ποδός to πόδα. For ἄσσω with an accusative see Porson on Eur. Or. 1427, where he quotes Soph. Ajax 40 ἦξεν χέρα, Eur. Hec. 1071 πόδ' ἐπάξας, and the phrases βαίνω, προβαίνω and ἐμβαίνω πόδα, as well as the passive ἄσσεται in v. 1261 of this play. This reading, and not the vulgate, is correctly rendered by Prof. Jebb's translation 'since therefore have I sped hither with more than easeful speed of foot.'

978-981.

μητρὸς δὲ τλήμων οὐκ ἐπαισχύνει γάμους
οὔσης ὁμαίμου σῆς μ' ἀναγκάζων λέγειν
οἴους ἐρῶ τάχ'· οὐ γὰρ οὖν σιγήσομαι
σοῦ γ' εἰς τόδ' ἐξελθόντος ἀνόσιον στόμα.

'εἰς τόδ' ἐξελθ. ἀνόσιον στόμα, having gone to such lengths of impious speech . . . ἀνόσιον στόμα agrees with τόδ', depending on εἰς. Since στόμα was familiar to poetry in the sense of λόγος (cp. O. T. 426), this version is clearly preferable to taking εἰς τόδ' separately and ἀνόσ. στ. as accus. of respect,' Jebb. Preferable, perhaps, but it is a choice of evils. I demur to the statement that στόμα was familiar to poetry in the sense of λόγος, and there is not the least excuse for interpreting it so in the passage to which Prof. Jebb refers, O. t. 426 sq. πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ Κρέοντα καὶ τοῦμόν στόμα | προπηλάκιζε: 'os suum uates contumeliae haberi indignatur,' says Ellendt. Liddell and Scott, to be sure, quote, after Stephanus, several examples, but they are all from Sophocles and all false: most of them are correctly explained by Ellendt, so I notice only one or two. In O. t. 671 sq. τὸ γὰρ σὸν, οὐ τὸ τοῦδ', ἐπιοικτίρω στόμα | εἰλενὸν *thy lips are piteous and move compassion in me, not his*, of course *speech* would come to the same thing as *lips*, but Ellendt has no more cause for translating στόμα by *loquella* in that place than in O. t. 426, 706, O. C. 603, Ant. 997, where he rightly resists this rendering. The fragment 844, adduced as parallel also in the Schneidewin-Nauck edition, κλέπτων δ' ὅταν τις ἐμφανῶς ἐφευρεθῇ | σιγᾶν ἀνάγκη, κἂν καλὸν φορῇ στόμα, means 'even though he carry a specious tongue in his head.' In O. C. 131 sqq. τὸ τᾶς εὐφάμου στόμα φροντίδος ἰέντες, whatever view you take of it, the interpretation which I am combating is quite impossible.

'στόμα ἰέναι pro φωνὴν ἰέναι dicitur,' says Wunder; and the required meaning is οὐχ ἰέντες φωνήν! Mr. Jebb, with more regard for the sense but some violence to the Greek, renders 'moving! the lips': I agree with Nauck that ἰέντες is corrupt and a word of opposite meaning wanted in its place, say *πρίοντες*: frag. 811 δάφνην φαγὼν ὀδόντι πρίε τὸ στόμα. But to come back to v. 981: the interpretation λόγον is not more precarious than gratuitous.

οὐ γὰρ οὖν σιγήσομαι
σου γ' εἰς τόδ' ἐξελθόντος, ἀνόσιον στόμα.

ἀνόσιον στόμα is vocative, *O impious tongue*. στόμα is naturally preferred to *κάρα* or *λῆμα* or the like, because it was in speech that the ἀνοσιότης of Creon displayed itself: just so at 794 we had τὸ σὸν δ' ἀφίεται δεῦρ' ὑπόβλητον στόμα.

1016-1038.

ΘΗ. ἅλις λόγων· ὥς οἱ μὲν ἐξεργασμένοι
σπεύδουσιν, ἡμεῖς δ' οἱ παθόντες ἔσταμεν.

ΚΡ. τί δῆτ' ἀμανρῶ φωτὶ προστάσσεις ποεῖν;

ΘΗ. ὁδοῦ κατάρχειν τῆς ἐκεῖ, πομπὴν δ' ἐμὲ
χωρεῖν, ἴν', εἰ μὲν ἐν τόποισι τοῖσδ' ἔχεις
τὰς παῖδας ἡμῶν, αὐτὸς ἐκδείξῃς ἐμοί·
εἰ δ' ἐγκρατεῖς φεύγουσιν, οὐδὲν δεῖ πονεῖν·

1020

ἄλλοι γὰρ οἱ σπεύδοντες, οὓς οὐ μὴ ποτε
χώρας φυγόντες τῆσδ' ἐπεύξωνται θεοῖς.
ἀλλ' ἐξυφηγοῦ· γινῶθι δ' ὥς ἔχων ἔχει
καὶ σ' εἴλε θηρῶνθ' ἢ τύχη· τὰ γὰρ δόλῳ
τῷ μὴ δικαίῳ κτήματ' οὐχὶ σφύζεται.

1025

κοῦκ ἄλλον ἔξεις εἰς τόδ'· ὥς ἔξειδά σε
σὺ ψιλὸν οὐδ' ἄσκειον ἐς τοσὴνδ' ὕβριν
ἦκοντα τόλμης τῆς παρεστῶσης τανῦν,
ἀλλ' ἔσθ' ὅτῳ σὺ πιστὸς ὦν ἔδρας τάδε.
ἂ δεῖ μ' ἀθρῆσαι, μὴδὲ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν
ἐνὸς ποῆσαι φωτὸς ἀσθενεστέραν.

1030

νοεῖς τι τούτων, ἢ μάτην τὰ νῦν τέ σοι
δοκεῖ λελέχθαι χῶτε ταῦτ' ἐμηχανῶ;

1035

ΚΡ. οὐδὲν σὺ μεμπτὸν ἐνθάδ' ὦν ἐρεῖς ἐμοί·
οἴκοι δὲ χῆμεις εἰσόμεσθ' ἂ χρή ποεῖν.

ΘΗ. χωρὼν ἀπέλπει νυν.

What meaning have the words in v. 1028, *κοῦκ ἄλλον ἔξεις εἰς τόδ'* (al. *τάδ'*)? 'Recte Dindorfius,' says Wunder, 'neque quicquam

tibi proderunt, quos tecum adduxisti. Tum ἐς τὰδε ἐστὶ ἐς τὸ τὰ δόλῳ τῷ μὴ δικαίῳ κτήματα σῶζεσθαι.' These are two eminent scholars, but no number of scholars, whatever their eminence, can bring it to pass that *thou shalt have none other for this purpose* should mean the same thing as *those whom thou hast brought shall avail thee nothing*. Schneidewin and Jebb translate the Greek correctly, though they are obliged to eke it out with supplements of their own; '*auch wirst du nicht einen andern als Beistand haben für diesen Zweck* (das σῶζειν κτήματα, die Behaltung der Mädchen in Gewalt),' Schneidewin; 'and you will not have another (to aid you) with a view to this (i. e. to the removal of the captives),' Jebb. But the words are false. Creon did have others to aid him. He had his guards, in whose custody the captives at that instant were, and who afterwards fought a pitched battle for him during the performance of the next stasimon. Now we see what forced Dindorf and Wunder to their mistranslation: the sentence gives no right sense unless it is mistranslated. Nor does Prof. Jebb render it any the more endurable by pointing out, what is indisputably true, that in the following verses down to 1033 Theseus declares his suspicion that Creon has an accomplice¹ at Athens. If the words 'you will not have another (to aid you) with a view to this' are to mean, as Mr. Jebb apparently desires, that Creon will not have the aid of this Athenian accomplice, they must be further eked out by a second parenthesis such as '(except your guards).' And, now that the sense has been thus augmented by the eleemosynary contributions of the charitable, what triviality is this, to tell Creon that in his attempt at 'the removal of the captives' or 'die Behaltung der Mädchen in Gewalt,' he will not have the aid of this one additional friend. He has his guards: one man more or less will not affect the issue. I do not wonder, then, that Nauck should say 'κοῦκ ἄλλον uerba corrupta,' though we shall presently find that the fault is not in κοῦκ ἄλλον.

Six lines more and I am arrested again. You have an abettor in Athens, says Theseus: this I must look to, and not let a single

¹ Mr. Jebb says *accomplices*; but though the singular number ἐσθ' ὄτῳ cannot be pressed, the ἐνὸς φωτός of 1033 shows that Theseus contemplates the existence of a single accomplice only. Let it be remarked that ἐνὸς φωτός must mean *one private Athenian citizen* and cannot signify Creon, or it constitutes no antithesis to πόλιν. The worsting of Athens by Creon (or of Thebes by Theseus) is not the worsting of a city by one man, but of one city by another city. Theseus says that he cannot suffer the public will to be thwarted by a private counterplot.

traitor defeat the common will; νοεῖς τι τούτων *do you recognize this?* Recognize it! what does it, what can it matter, whether Creon recognizes or fails to recognize that Theseus must take these steps? Mr. Jebb wrongly translates 'dost thou take my drift': the meaning of νοεῖς is fixed by the alternative ἢ μάτην . . . δοκεῖ λελέχθαι; it signifies *perceive, recognize as true*. And what is there is common between this alleged necessity for investigations at Athens and τὰ τότε λεχθέντα ὅτε ταῦτα ἐμχανῶ 'the remonstrances and menaces of the Chorus, 829 ff.' (Jebb), that Theseus proceeds 'or do you think my views on domestic polity as empty as you thought the remonstrances addressed to you when you were carrying off the girls?' No; the question νοεῖς τι τούτων can only follow on the utterance of some ethical proposition bearing on Creon's act; such, for instance, as τὰ δόλω τῷ μὴ δικαίῳ κτήματι οὐχὶ σφίζεται.

And so it did. Since neither νοεῖς τι τούτων nor κοῦκ ἄλλον ἔξεις εἰς τόδ' is permitted to yield sense by the context in which it stands, I propose to find a new context for each by transposing the six verses 1028-1033 from their present seat to another.

- KP. τί δῆτ' ἀμαυρῶ φωτὶ προστάσσεις ποεῖν;
 ΘΗ. ὁδοῦ κατάρχειν τῆς ἐκεῖ. πομπὸν δ' ἐμέ 1019
 κοῦκ ἄλλον ἔξεις εἰς τόδ'. ὥς ἔξοιδά σε 1028
 οὐ ψιλὸν οὐδ' ἄσκειον ἐς τοσσηνδ' ὕβριν
 ἦκοντα τόλμης τῆς παρεστῶσης τανῦν,
 ἀλλ' ἔσθ' ὅτ' οὐ πιστὸς ὢν ἔδρας τάδε.
 ἂ δέ μ' ἀθρήσαι, μηδὲ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν
 ἐνὸς ποιῆσαι φωτὸς ἀσθνεστέραν. 1033
 χωρεῖν, ἴν', εἰ μὲν ἐν τόποισι τοῖσδ' ἔχεις 1020
 τὰς παῖδας ἡμῖν, αὐτὸς ἐκδείξῃς ἐμοί·
 εἰ δ' ἐγκρατεῖς φεύγουσιν, οὐδὲν δέ μοι πονεῖν·
 ἄλλοι γὰρ οἱ σπεύδοντες, οὐδ' οὐ μὴ ποτε
 χώρας φυγόντες τῆσδ' ἐπεύξωνται θεοῖς.
 ἀλλ' ἐξυφηγού· γνώθι δ' ὥς ἔχων ἔχει
 καὶ σ' εἶλε θηρῶνθ' ἢ τύχη· τὰ γὰρ δόλω
 τῷ μὴ δικαίῳ κτήματι οὐχὶ σφίζεται. 1027
 νοεῖς τι τούτων, ἢ μάτην τὰ νῦν τέ σοι 1034
 δοκεῖ λελέχθαι ὥστε ταῦτ' ἐμχανῶ;

'What do you bid a helpless man to do?' 'To lead the way yonder. And to escort you on your road you shall have me and no one else; no one else, I say, for sure I am that there was some

one here on whom you counted when you went to these lengths.' Instead of the Athenian accomplice whom Creon might expect to conduct him through Athenian territory, he shall have only Theseus for his escort. Then χωρεῖν in 1020 is infinitive for imperative; so 481 προσφέρειν, 484 ἐπεύχεσθαι, 490 ἀφέρπειν, Ant. 151 θέσθαι, 1143 μολεῖν, O. t. 462 (El. 9, Phil. 1411) φάσκειν, 1466 μέλεισθαι, Phil. 57 λέγειν, 1080 ὀρμᾶσθαι. Lastly, at 1034 the words νοεῖς τι τούτων 'dost thou apprehend this truth?' come just where they should. I declare, when I look at the new face this speech has now put on, I can hardly refrain from unbecoming exclamations of delight. The transposition adopted is not the only way to achieve the prime end of bringing 1028 into juxtaposition with 1019, and 1034 with 1027: the verses might be arranged 1018, 1020-1024, 1019, 1028-1033, 1025-1027, 1034 sqq.; but the method I have chosen is simpler and seems generally preferable. In 1021 I have accepted Elmsley's slight but very uncertain alteration, ἡμῖν for ἡμῶν, though I think G. H. Mueller's αὐτὸς ἡγεμῶν δειξῆς really more probable, and I have also conjectured τῶ παιδ' Ἀθηνῶν, the genitive depending on τόποισι: see Ajax 437 sq., O. t. 1134 (where I would read τοῖς Κ. τόποις, adopting Mr. Margoliouth's admirable correction of 1136), Aesch. Pers. 447. For ἐγκρατεῖς in 1022 I should much prefer οὐγκρατεῖς: I would make a similar change in Eur. frag. 166, reading τὸ μῶρον αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς νόσημ' ἐνι | φιλεῖ γὰρ οὕτως οὐκ κακῶν εἶναι κακός (ἐκ . . . κακούς MSS, κακός Wagner).

In v. 1036 Prof. Jebb retains the MS reading which most critics now think corrupt; 'nam sensus non ὦν sed ὄντι flagitat,' says Wecklein. 'But,' says Mr. Jebb, 'the vulgate is right. "*While here,*" said of Theseus, means "since this is your own realm, in which you have force at command."' This remark shows no apprehension of the difficulty. Creon says that he will not object to any words uttered in Attica by Theseus. A coherent sequel to this would be that, if Theseus utters such words outside Attica, Creon will object to them. But neither this nor any coherent sequel follows. There follows, with no sort of pertinence, the statement that Creon, when returned to Thebes, will know how to act. Perhaps; but what of that? His attitude towards the words uttered by Theseus will still remain unchanged; for he has made the general statement that he will object to none of them. What, then, is the meaning of δέ? What is the connexion, or what the opposition, between the two predications linked by this particle? It is such as we find in the verse of a modern poet:

'A fool is bent upon a twig, *but* wise men dread a bandit.' The statement that Creon, when returned to Thebes, will know how to act, would follow coherently upon the statement that his freedom of action is hampered while he, Creon, stands on Attic soil; and this is what Wecklein means by saying 'sensus non *ὦν* sed *ὄντι* flagitat.'

Therefore Blaydes conjectures *ἐνθάδ' ὄντ' ἐρεῖς ἐμέ*: Wecklein and Tyrrell, Pfluegl having already proposed *μεμπτός ἐνθάδ' ὦν ἐρεῖς*, confine themselves to a change of fascinating simplicity, *ὦν* for *ὄν*, i. e. *οὐδέν ὦν σὺ ἐρεῖς μεμπτόν ἐμοὶ ἐνθάδε*; and they well defend the hyperbaton. What discontents me with these emendations is the *χῆμεις* of 1037. 'Here I shall object to nothing you say, but at home I shall know how to act,' *οἴκοι δ' εἰσόμεσθ' ἂ χρεὶ ποεῖν*, is thoroughly satisfactory: the contrast is between Creon in Attica and the same Creon at Thebes. Introduce *χῆμεις*, 'but at home I *too* shall know how to act,' and you disturb this contrast. Or shift the point of view: suppose we had been shown the verse *οἴκοι δὲ χῆμεις εἰσόμεσθ' ἂ χρεὶ ποεῖν* and told to guess the sense of the verse above it, we should never have guessed *ἐγὼ ἐνθάδε οὐδέν μέμφομαι ὦν σὺ ἐρεῖς*: we should have guessed something like *σὺ μὲν ἐν τῇ σῇ χώρᾳ δεινὸς εἶ*. And I believe we should have been right.

For the wisest words on this passage which I have anywhere found are Nauck's: '*ἐνθάδ' ὦν* ist in der jetzigen Form der Rede unpassend.' The question is whether the fault lies with *ἐνθάδ' ὦν* or with the context. Now, if one scans the words to consider which look sound and which corrupt, surely what first catches the eye is the exact correspondence between *σὺ . . . ἐνθάδ' ὦν* and *οἴκοι . . . χῆμεις*: here, I say to myself, is a relic of the sentence's pristine form showing the lines on which to reconstruct it: the comparison is between Theseus at his home and Creon at his. Looking round for the seat of corruption, one observes that what most obscures this comparison is the emphatic form of the pronoun *ἐμοὶ* distracting attention from *σὺ*: this, then, should be altered, and as little as possible beside. I write

οὐδέν σὺ μεμπτόν ἐνθάδ' ὦν αἴρεις μένος
οἴκοι δὲ χῆμεις εἰσόμεσθ' ἂ χρεὶ ποεῖν.

i. e. you are a terrible fighting-cock on your own dunghill; but I too, when my foot is on my native heath, shall know how to bear myself with proper spirit. I rely much on the closely parallel phrase of Ajax 1066 *πρὸς ταῦτα μηδὲν δεινὸν ἐξάρης μένος*: for

the adverbial οὐδὲν with μεμπτόν see too Eur. Ion. 1519 καὶ τὸ γένος οὐδὲν μεμπτόν ἐστ' ἡμῖν τόδε. The words μένος οὐδὲν μεμπτόν mean a rage nowise to be sneered at, that is, formidable. The use of the verb from which this use of the adjective springs is found in Aesch. frag. 199, 1 sqq. ἤξεῖς δὲ Λιγύων εἰς ἀτάρβητον στρατόν· | -ἔνθ' οὐ μάχης, σάφ' οἶδα, καὶ θουρός περ ὦν, | μέμψει, man of war though you are, you will find the fighting no laughing matter: the adjective itself is thus used at Plat. legg. 716 B in a context which explains the meaning clearly: the lawless man ὑποσχὼν τιμωρίαν οὐ μεμπτήν τῇ Δίκῃ ἐαντόν τε καὶ οἶκον καὶ πόλιν ἄρδην ἀνάστατον ἐπόησε, a punishment not to be made light of. The Medea of Euripides plays on the two senses of the word when at v. 958 of the play she says concerning the envenomed gifts οὗτοι δῶρα μεμπτὰ δέξεται (ἡ νύμφη): the scholiast rightly observes τοῦτο διπλὴν ἔχει τὴν ἔννοιαν, μίαν μὲν, ἣν ὁ Ἰάσων ἐκδέχεται, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπόβλητα αὐτῇ τὰ δῶρα, ἀλλὰ θαναμαστὰ, ἐτέρην δέ, ἣν αὐτὴ κρύπτει, ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐ γελάσει τὸ δῶρον ὡς ἀσθενές, ἀναιρήσει γὰρ αὐτήν. The corruption came to pass, I should suppose, through the loss of the final *s* at the margin and the rearrangement of μένος as ἐμόν; though other ways are also conceivable.

1132-1136.

καίτοι τί φωνῶ; πῶς σ' ἂν ἄθλιος γεγώς
 θιγεῖν θελήσαιμ' ἀνδρός, ᾧ τίς οὐκ ἔνι
 κηλὶς κακῶν ξύνοικος; οὐκ ἔγωγέ σε,
 οὐδ' οὖν ἐάσω· τοῖς γὰρ ἐμπείροις βροτῶν
 μόνοις οἷόν τε συνταλαιπωρεῖν τάδε.

1135

Prof. Jebb writes 'βροτῶν is changed by Nauck to κακῶν, and by Dindorf to ἐμῶν ('my affairs'), on the ground that ἐμπείροις needs definition. But if the preceding words leave any need for such definition, it is supplied in the next v. by συνταλαιπωρεῖν τάδε.' This understates the offence by one half. True it is that ἐμπείροις wants defining by an objective genitive, expressed or understood, because, in default of such a genitive, it means *skilful* and makes nonsense; and I with Nauck regard as impracticable the artifice of supplying τῶνδε from below, which commends itself to Mr. Jebb. The absence of an objective genitive is half the depravity of the vulgate: the other half is the presence of βροτῶν in that genitive's stead. βροτῶν, you will notice, is quite useless: take it away and the passage means what it meant before: no reason can be invented why Sophocles should add it except to complete the

trimeter. Imagine him now, when ἐμπίροις cried for a defining genitive, and the last foot of the senarius lay empty for the defining genitive's reception, imagine him not merely refusing it but proferring in its place a genitive which does not define nor perform any office whatsoever except to ensnare the reader in the momentary delusion that the phrase before him has its natural meaning, *those who know men*. Is such writing reconcilable with perfect soundness of intellect? Great wits to madness nearly are allied, but not to fatuity.

Instead of ἐμῶν or κακῶν I would put forward this conjecture:

τοῖς ταλαιπώροις βροτῶν
μόνοις οἷόν τε συνταλαιπωρεῖν τάδε.

In the progress of error I should impute γαρεπώροις to accident and the rest to design.

1201-1205.

ἀλλ' ἡμῖν εἶκε· λιπαρεῖν γὰρ οὐ καλὸν
δίκαια προσχρήζουσιν, οὐδ' αὐτὸν μὲν εὖ
πάσχειν, παθόντα δ' οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι τίνειν.

OI. τέκνον, βαρεῖαν ἡδονὴν νικᾷτέ με
λέγοντες· ἔστω δ' οὖν ὅπως ὑμῖν φίλον.

‘βαρεῖαν ἡδονὴν νικᾷτέ με singulari breuitate dictum hoc sensu: νικᾷτέ με νίκην βαρεῖαν ἐμοί, ἡδέϊαν δ' ὑμῖν’: singular indeed. ‘Grievous (for me) is the gratification (to yourselves) in regard to which ye prevail over me by your words . . . ἡδονὴν is a bold acc. of respect with νικᾷτε, suggested by the constr. with a cognate acc., νίκην νικᾷτε, since the pleasure is secured by the victory’: very bold. The plain meaning of the words is not this but ‘ye conquer me by mentioning a calamitous self-gratification,’ i. e. the indulgence of Oedipus’ angry temper, to which Antigone attributes his misfortunes. But I have little doubt that what Sophocles wrote was the much simpler and apter βαρεῖαν πημονήν, in support of which I quote the words of Antigone to which reference is made, 1195 sqq. σὺ δ' εἰς ἐκεῖνα, μὴ τὰ νῦν, ἀποσκόπει | πατρῷα καὶ μητρῷα πῆμα θ' ἀπαθες· | κἂν κείνα λεύσσης, οἶδ' ἐγὼ, γνώσει κακοῦ | θυμοῦ τελευτὴν ὡς κακὴ προσγίγνεται. | ἔχεις γὰρ οὐχὶ βαιὰ τὰνθυμήματα | τῶν σῶν ἀδέρκτων ὀμμάτων τητῶμενος. Oedipus answers ‘Child, ye vanquish me by the heavy affliction ye recall; so, then, have it as ye will.’ ‘δ' οὖν: cp. Ai. 115 σὺ δ' οὖν . . . | χρῶ χειρί. well, then (if thou must)’: this is Prof. Jebb’s reference, which I gratefully accept, though with some

perplexity as to his motive in giving it, since he himself translates δ' οὖν 'however.' The corruption may have arisen from the loss, here as at 360, of Π beside Η. I present the conservative garrison with the defensive argument that Antigone only, and not Theseus also, had in fact made mention of the *ἡμιμονή* or *πήματα*.

1249-1253.

- AN. καὶ μὴν ὅδ' ἡμῖν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ ξένος
 ἀνδρῶν γε μούνος, ὃ πάτερ, δι' ὅμματος 1250
 ἀστακτὶ λείβων δάκρυον ὅδ' ὁδοιπορεῖ.
 OI. τίς οὗτος; AN. ὄνπερ καὶ πάλαι κατείχομεν
 γνώμῃ, πάρεστι δεῦρο Πολυνείκης ὅδε.

'Genetivus ἀνδρῶν ab μούνος, quod pro μονωθείς dictum sit, pendere creditur. Quod Graecis lectoribus non facile erat in mentem uenturum,' Dindorf. The obvious sense of the words is 'he and none other,' but γε then means nothing. The sense 'having no man with him,' as Dindorf says, is not obvious; and γε, if it has a meaning, then means that he has women or children or some other escort with him, of which we hear nothing in the sequel. Hence scholars have conjectured ἀνδρῶν ἔρημος (*ἐρήμος*) or μονωθείς or δίχ' ἄλλων. I do but transpose a couplet and add one letter at the end of a line:

- AN. καὶ μὴν ὅδ' ἡμῖν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ ξένος— 1249
 OI. τίς οὗτος; AN. ὄνπερ καὶ πάλαι κατείχομεν 1252
 γνώμῃ, πάρεστι δεῦρο. OI. Πολυνείκης ὅδε; 1253
 AN. ἀνδρῶν γε μούνος, ὃ πάτερ* δι' ὅμματος δ' 1250
 ἀστακτὶ λείβων δάκρυον ὅδ' ὁδοιπορεῖ. 1251

ἀνδρῶν γε μούνος *yes, he and none other*, the common use of γε in confirmatory answers. I am shy of praising my own handiwork, but if it were a scribe of the eleventh century, and not I, who had written the verses thus, I would point out, or rather the editors would have saved me the trouble by pointing out already, the dramatic merit of this broken dialogue.

1354-1359.

- ὅς γ', ὃ κάκιστε, σκῆπτρα καὶ θρόνους ἔχων,
 ἃ νῦν ὁ σὸς ξύναιμος ἐν Θήβαις ἔχει, 1355
 τὸν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ πατέρα τῶνδ' ἀπήλασας
 κᾶθηκας ἄπολιν καὶ στολὰς ταύτας φορεῖν,
 ἃς νῦν δακρύεις εἰσορῶν, ὅτ' ἐν πόντῳ
 ταῦτ' ὤβεβηκὼς τυγχάνεις κακῶν ἐμοί.

Of ἐν πόνῳ κακῶν Prof. Jebb offers only a half-hearted defence which will not bear scrutiny. 'πόνῳ . . . κακῶν = πολυπόνους κακοῖς, the gen. being added to define πόνῳ more closely. Since πόνος was a word of such general meaning, the phrase, though unusual, seems defensible. Cp. such phrases as δυσοίστων πόνων | ἄλλ' (Ph. 508), πόνων | λατρεύματ' (Tr. 356), ἄεθλ' ἀγώνων (ib. 506).' Well, to begin with, however general the meaning of πόνος may be, the meaning of κακά is more general still, and κακῶν, therefore, is a singularly useless word for defining πόνῳ more closely. Secondly, by way of defending a phrase in which the meaning of πόνος is said to be so general that it wants another word to define it more closely, it is rather injudicious to quote two phrases in which the meaning of πόνος is so little general that it is used to define more closely the meaning of another word.

Reiske would alter πόνῳ to βυθῷ, Martin to κλόνῳ, Bergk to πότμῳ: the first alone procures good sense, and it has no plausibility. Mr. Wecklein's conjecture ὅτ' ἐν κακῶν | ταύτῳ βεβηκῶς τυγχάνεις κλυδωνίῳ exhibits vividly the distress, the κλυδώνιον κακῶν, in which that accomplished critic is plunged. Mr. Tournier proposes ἄκων for κακῶν: this is the easiest of changes, and if ἄκων stood in the MSS it would be zealously defended by those who now defend κακῶν. Critics who study to think as the ancients thought would object that ἄκων imports a notion irrelevant to the speaker's theme. That Polynices could not help his plight is true, but not to the purpose; and the classics, unlike the moderns, are careful to eschew such details as divert attention from the main concern. It would not be much use to urge these considerations if ἄκων were the MS reading, but since it is only a conjecture, they will probably be entertained. I believe the true text is this:

ὅτ' ἐν πόνῳ
ταύτῳ βεβηκῶς τυγχάνεις ἴσων ἐμοί.

ἴσων has nothing to do with πόνῳ, nor τυγχάνεις with βεβηκῶς: the words τυγχάνεις ἴσων ἐμοί mean *eadem sortiris atque ego*: see El. 532 οὐκ ἴσον καμῶν ἐμοί. ICΩN was mistaken for KΩN and then expanded to KAKΩN. The same error has come to pass at Aesch. sept. 945, where Weil restores πικρὸς δὲ χρημάτων ἴσος δατητὰς Ἄρης ἂρὰν πατρώαν τιθεῖς ἀλαθῇ for κακός.

1472-1474.

- OI. ὦ παῖδες, ἦκει τῷδ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ θέσφατος
βίου τελευτῇ, κοῦκέτ' ἔστ' ἀποστροφή.
XO. πῶς οἶσθα; τῷ δὲ συμβαλὼν ἔχεις;

So L, *quinarius pro senario*: most other MSS complete the trimeter by inserting *τοῦτο*, some before *τῷ δέ*, some after. Hermann pointed out the fact, which his successors neglect to notice, that Suidas has *τῷ τοῦτο συμβαλὼν ἔχεις*· *ταυτὸν τῷ, τῷ τοῦτο κρίνεις, τουτέστι, τίνι τεκμηρίῳ νοήσας καὶ στοχασάμενος* in a place where the alphabetical order shows that *τῷ δέ τοῦτο κτλ.* was his original reading. This agreement of Suidas with sundry of our MSS might seem to render the vulgate *τῷ δέ τοῦτο συμβαλὼν ἔχεις* secure in spite of L.

But it is to be remembered that L is probably older than Suidas. These phenomena have a parallel in Ant. 1037. Some of our MSS read *ἐμπολάτε τὸν πρὸς Σάρδεων | ἤλεκτρον*, and so does Eustathius twice over, pp. 368 30, 1483 27. But neither *τὸν ἤλεκτρον* nor *πρὸς Σάρδεων* can possibly be imputed to Sophocles. L offers *τα προσάρδεων*, whence Mr. Blaydes elicits *τὰπὸ Σάρδεων*: this excellent emendation we all accept, undeterred by the consent of other MSS with Eustathius. Here too, in spite of Suidas, L must be considered. For, in the first place, there is no apparent reason why *τοῦτο* should disappear. Secondly, one of the tokens which oftenest enable us to expel from a classical text a word which has no business there is that the MSS which combine to offer it will disagree in placing it. Here this token is present: half the MSS which have *τοῦτο* place it after *οἶσθα*, half after *τῷ δέ*: the best MS omits it: away with it, say I, for a metrical correction.

Dindorf adds *πάτερ* at the end of the verse, which he assigns, perhaps rightly, to Antigone. I would suppose an easier loss. *η* is confused with *υ* and *α* with *β* more times than can be told; no wonder, then, if *συμβ* absorbed *σημα*.

πῶς οἶσθα; τῷ δέ <σημα> συμβαλὼν ἔχεις;

by what means hast thou interpreted the sign? the thunders and lightnings, to wit: 1511 sq. *αὐτοὶ θεοὶ κήρυκες ἀγγέλλουσί μοι | ψεύδοντες οὐδὲν σημάτων προκειμένων.* To which passage we will next proceed.

1510-1515.

- ΘΗ. *τῷ δ' ἐκπέπεισαι τοῦ μέρου τεκμηρίῳ;*
 ΟΙ. *αὐτοὶ θεοὶ κήρυκες ἀγγέλλουσί μοι
 ψεύδοντες οὐδὲν σημάτων προκειμένων.*
 ΘΗ. *πῶς εἶπας, ὦ γεραῖε, δηλοῦσθαι τάδε;*
 ΟΙ. *αἱ πολλαὶ βρονταὶ διατελεῖς τὰ πολλὰ τε
 στρέψαντα χεῖρὸς τῆς ἀνικήτου βέλη.*

The nominatives *βρονταί* and *βέλη* are anacoluthic, but the passage is not to be deemed corrupt on that account: see O. t. 740 sqq. τὸν δὲ Δαίον φύσιν | τίν' ἔτυχε, φράζε, τίνα δ' ἀκμήν ἤβης ἔχων; | 10. μέγας, χνοάξων ἄρτι λευκανθὲς κára, O. C. 1500 sqq. τίς αὖ παρ' ὑμῶν κοινὸς ἡχεῖται κτύπος; . . . μή τις Διὸς κεραυνὸς ἢ τις ὀμβρία | χάλαζ' ἐπιρράξασα; I quote these passages to show that no such alteration as Reiske's *δηλοῦσι* for *αἱ πολλαί* is demanded by grammar. Inferior MSS and most editors read *αἱ πολλὰ*: I prefer the text of L. It contains a false quantity, true; but there are worse things on earth than false quantities, and the vulgate reading of this verse is one of them. The unusual order of words for *αἱ πολλὰ διατελεῖς βρονταί* is successfully defended by Prof. Jebb. But a verse in which *πολλὰ* comes twice over—first as an adverb meaning *very* and then as an adjective meaning *many*—is a verse which I, who am not one of the world's greatest poets, should be ashamed to set my name to; and to find Mr. Jebb saying 'the reiterated *πολλὰ* is effective' would be astounding if one had not often observed that a conservative critic writing for a conservative public is apt to grow careless how he defends a text which most of his readers are willing and even eager to accept without any defence at all. However, I put this question by and content myself with pointing out the simple fact that *πολλὰ διατελεῖς* is not Greek. *πολλὰ δεινοί, πολλὰ μοχθηρός, πλείστα μῶροι, πόλλ' ἀέκων*, Mr. Jebb's examples, are all correct and all inapposite. Cleverness, misery, folly, reluctance, are conceptions admitting the notion of more and less; and a man can be clever, miserable, foolish, or reluctant, in the positive, the comparative, or the superlative degree. But either a thing is *διατελής* or it is not *διατελής*, and when a thing is *διατελής* no other thing can be more *διατελής* than it: there are no degrees of the quality; and *πολλὰ διατελής* is no more Greek than *multum perpetuus* is Latin. When Mr. Jebb translates 'the long-continued thunderings' he is deceived by an idolon fori residing in the English word *continued*. *Long-continued* means *long-protracted*; but *διατελής* does not mean *protracted*: it means *uninterrupted*, and *πολλὰ διατελεῖς* would mean *very much uninterrupted*. Which being ridiculous, I propose this substitute:

Δῖαί τε βρονταί διατελεῖς τὰ πολλὰ τε
πρέψαντα χειρὸς τῆς ἀνίκητου βέλη.

See 95 βροντὴν τιν' ἢ Διὸς σέλας, 1460 sq. Διὸς πτερωτὸς ἦδε μ' αὐτίκ' ἄξεται | βροντὴ πρὸς Ἄϊδην, 1502 Διὸς κεραυνός. Let the TAI of ΔΙΑΙΤΑΙ be absorbed by the ΙΑΙ, and then ΔΙ of ΔΙΑΙ by the

ΔΙ, αἱ βρονταί remains, and some one inserts πολλαί, suggested by the πολλά at the end of the verse.

In 1515 I have altered στ to σ, στρέψαντα to πρέψαντα *which shone forth*: for the form see Plut. Charm. 158 C. στρέψαντα is not defended: the vulgate is, or was till lately, Pierson's στράψαντα, to which it is objected that the Attic form is ἀστράπτω and that στράπτω occurs no earlier than Apollonius Rhodius. 'In cases of this kind,' pleads Mr. Jebb, 'we should always recollect how incomplete is our knowledge of the classical Attic vocabulary, and allow for the likelihood that the learned Alexandrian poets had earlier warrant for this or that word which, as it happens, we cannot trace above them. With ἀστράπτω and στράπτω, cp. ἀστεροπή and στεροπή, ἀσπαίρω and σπαίρω, ἀσταφίς and σταφίς, ἄσταχυς and στάχυς, and many other instances in which the longer form and the shorter both belong to the classical age.' This is ignoratio elenchi: we are not concerned with the classical age, but with the dialogue of Attic tragedy. The classical age extends from Homer to Demosthenes, and includes Herodotus and Pindar; and even when we know a word to have been used in the classical age, we do not on that account admit it into tragic senarii. στράπτω we do not know to have been so used; only we are encouraged by Mr. Jebb to hope that it was, because it would be unlucky for Pierson's conjecture if it were not. Mr. Jebb's examples are unhappily chosen: as for ἀστεροπή and στεροπή, neither of them is Attic; ἀσπαίρω is Attic, but σπαίρω is not; there is no evidence that ἀσταφίς and σταφίς are both Attic; στάχυς is Attic, but the only ground for thinking ἄσταχυς so appears to be the grammarian at anecd. Bekk., p. 453 27, who supports his statement by a quotation from the illustrious Athenian poet Homer. στράψαντα therefore being highly improbable, some recent editors adopt Forster's σκήψαντα, which has much less palaeographical likelihood. Mr. Jebb further remarks, with some truth, that 'the thought is of the lightning-flash breaking forth as a sign in the sky (φλέγει, 1466), rather than of its descent on earth.' On the other side Nauck observes with equal justice that 'βέλος σκήψαν dem Sprachgebrauch besser entspricht als βέλος ἀστράψαν.' It will be seen that πρέψαντα escapes both these objections.

1744-1747.

AN. μόγος ἔχει. XO. καὶ πάρος ἐπέιχεν.

AN. τοτὲ μὲν ἄπορα, τοτὲ δ' ὕπερθεν.

XO. μέγ' ἄρα πέλαγος ἐλαχέτην τι.

AN. αἰαί, ποῖ μένωμεν, ὦ Ζεῦ;

Prof. Jebb thinks that 'πέλαγος, without *κακῶν*, or the like, is excused by the familiarity of this metaphor in Greek.' This I do not concede; but it is here superfluous to discuss the question, because even the presence of *κακῶν*, or the like, would not redeem so incongruous an expression as *πέλαγος λαγχάνω*. The metaphor *πέλαγος κακῶν*, as Mr. Jebb says, is familiar, but it is familiar in another guise than this: Aesch. Pers. 433 sq. *κακῶν δὴ πέλαγος ἔρρωγεν μέγα* | Πέρσαις, supp. 470 sq. *ἄτης δ' ἄβυσσον πέλαγος οὐ μάλ' εὐπορον* | τόδ' ἐσβέβηκα, *κούδαμὸν λιμὴν κακῶν*, Eur. Hipp. 822 sqq. *κακῶν δ', ὦ τάλας, πέλαγος εἰσορῶ* | τοσοῦτον ὥστε μήποτ' ἐκνεῦσαι παλιν, H. f. 1087 sq. *τί παῖδ' ἤχθηρας ὦδ' ὑπερκότως* | τὸν σὸν, *κακῶν δὲ πέλαγος ἐς τόδ' ἦγαγες*; Men. arroph. 15 sq. *ἀληθινὸν* | εἰς πέλαγος αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖς γὰρ πραγμάτων: so too *πέλαγος πλούτου*, Pind. ap. Athen. XI 782 D *πελάγει δ' ἐν πολυχρύσοιο πλούτου* | πάντες ἴσα (fort. ἴσον) νέομεν ψευδῇ πρὸς ἀκτάν. Small warrant here for the phrase *you have gotten a great sea!* Aeschylus at sept. 690 sq. writes *ἴτω κατ' οὖρον κῦμα Κωκυτοῦ λαχόν* | Φοῖβω στυγηθὲν πᾶν τὸ Λαῖον γένος, i. e. *with hell for its portion to dwell in*, and so Homer O 190 *ἔλαχον πολὺν ἄλλα ναιέμεν αἰεὶ*, but that is not to the purpose. This verse of Sophocles I would emend

μέγ' ἄρα πένθος ἐλαχέτην τι.

Sophocles has *πένθος λαγχάνω* at frag. 598 1 and *μέγα πένθος* at Ajax 616: the latter occurs also at Aesch. cho. 300 and seven times over in Homer. The *ελαγ* of the corrupt reading may be an anticipation of the following *ελαχ*; but I incline rather to derive *πέλαγος* from

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i. e. the gloss *ἄλγος* mistaken for a correction of *-νθος* to *-λαγος*. I do not find *πένθος* explained by *ἄλγος* either in Hesychius, who has *πένθος*· συμφορά, θρήνος, λύπη, or in the Byzantine lexicons; nor in the tragic scholia have I met anything nearer than Eur. Hipp. 138 *κρυπτῶ πένθει*· ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀλγῆθόνοιο καὶ τῆς νόσου τῆς κρυπτῆς. But the possibility of such a gloss may be shown as follows. Hesychius has *ἄλγος*· πόνος, πένθος. At first you might think that *πένθος* is not likely to be explained by *ἄλγος* when *ἄλγος* is explained by *πένθος*. But observe that *ἄλγος* is also explained by *πόνος*: now turn to *πόνος* and you find it explained by *ἄλγος*: the article runs *πόνος*· ἄλγος, ἐνέργημα οὐδύνης. Nothing forbids, then, that *ἄλγος*, a

common word in late as in early Greek, should be similarly employed as a gloss to *πένθος*. It is a trifle, yet perhaps worth mention, that the verse now tallies precisely, which formerly it did not, with the accepted reading of the strophic line 1734 *ἄγε με καὶ τότ' ἐπενάριξον*.

LONDON, *February*, 1892.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

II.—VERBALS IN -ΤΟΣ IN SOPHOCLES.

INTRODUCTION.¹

Comparative philology shows that one of the oldest suffixes used by our Indo-European family of languages was *-to* or *-ta*. This ending could be either primary or secondary. As a primary ending it was very commonly used in forming participles and the like from verbs. In Sanskrit we find the ending *-ta* side by side with *-na*, forming the so-called 'perfect passive participle'; similarly in Latin the ending *-tus* is used. In Greek these forms are no longer participles, but—a fact which makes their nature more complicated and hence more interesting—'verbal adjectives,' in some of which we see the participial nature still asserting itself through the *time-force* of the verbal; in others the verb-nature has so far died out that the verbal is quite timeless. It is just this time-force of the verbals which will form the basis of the three classes into which we shall divide the examples to be cited, viz. 1st. those referring to *past time* (prior act), 2d. those referring to *present time* (contemporaneous act), 3d. those referring to *future time* (subsequent act). Not alone the *tense*, but also the *voice*, and even the *mood*, of the verb we shall see to be reflected in the verbal. It is established that the *passive*, *neuter* and *middle* voices are seen in these verbals. As to the *active* (i. e. *transitive*) voice we shall attempt to speak more fully below: suffice it to say that this use is foreign to the language of Aischylos. The neuter force of the verbal arises either out of the neuter or the middle voice of the verb from which the verbal is derived. As to the mood, the verbal is quite parallel with the verb, exhibiting forms stating a *fact* (cf. the indicative), as well as those expressing a mere *possibility or wish* (cf. optative and subjunctive). It is the verbals in *τέος* which denote what ought to or should take place (cf. impera-

¹ The following notes on the Sophoclean use of the *adiectiva verbalia* constitute a second paper on the subject of the use of the Verbals in the Tragedians: the first was entitled "De Adiectivorum Verbalium -τος terminatione insignium usu Aeschyleo," diss. inaug. Leipzig, 1889. This second introduction, though not radically different from that on pp. 1-3 of the first paper, is here inserted for patent reasons.

tive). There are something over 400 different formations in Sophocles, ending in *-τος*, which are, with more or less probability, derived by different authorities from verbs: less than a hundred of these are *simplicia*, the rest being *syntheta* and *parasyntheta*. These Sophocles has used in the *passive* sense something less than 220 times, *modal* about 150 times, *neuter* 60 times; *active-transitive*, more or less seriously doubtful, are some seven cases; inexplicable fragments number about 18, *composita possessiva* 23, *nomina* 24, of doubtful etymology 24, and textually uncertain 15, 'instrumentalia' 51. These approximately accurate statistics are given for what they are worth. Verbal adjectives can be used either *attributively* or *predicatively* (but cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*, II, p. 214). Although both the merely passive and the modal significations are quite old—both being seen in Homer, and indeed some even doubt which is the original force of the verbal: in Plato the greater number of these verbals shows the *modal* force—yet other circumstances go to show that the passive force was, on the whole, the commoner, not only in Sophocles, but also, e. g., in Aischylos; and in Attic inscriptions verbalia in *-τος* never have the modal force, which is in the Homeric language much rarer than the merely passive. As to the form of these adjectives: like other adjectives, they can appear in the comparative and superlative degrees; cf. *καταρρότατον*, O. R. 1344. Three interesting questions concerning the form of the verbals present themselves here: 1st. From what part of the verb are these verbals formed? 2d. What laws govern their accentuation? 3d. What of their *motio*? We shall not pretend to make a special investigation into each of these points, not a one of which has yet been satisfactorily discussed. Concerning the etymological formation of these adjectives, cf. Gross, *Specimen disputationis de adiectivis verbalibus in -τος et -τεος exeuntibus*, Marienwerder, 1839, p. 2 ff., and H. Moisisstzig, *Quaestiones de adiectivis graecis, quae dicuntur, verbalibus*, part 1, Conitz, 1844, p. 5 ff. Gross shows that by far the majority of the verbals in *-τος* and *-τεος* is derived from the stem of the verb as seen in the *perfect passive*. The *second perfect* is taken as the basis in *αὐτόματος*: not a few follow the *second aorist* (active or middle), e. g. *ἄσπετος*, *νέοπος*, *ἀνόητος* κ. τ. λ. Only one example is quoted, *τραπητέον*, which assumes the aor. II pass. as its stem: *ἀπρίατος* carries us back to the first aorist middle, and *ἀλάμπετος*, *ἀμάχετος*, *δυνατός* and many others are formed on the present stem.

Not a few forms follow the analogy of a perfect stem which *does not exist*, but *could* exist, e. g. *θνητός*. Ἀμφίθρεπτος, ἀπανστος, ἀειμνηστος, εὐμνηστος, χρηστός, ἄπλαστος, διαιρετός, ἐξαιρετός and many others are referred to the stem as seen in the *I aor. pass.* The *future stem* is seen in *οἰστός* and *οἰστέος* and others. From page 7 on Gross discusses those many adjectives "quae quum vel ipsa supposita tempora nullam usu frequentatorum temporum habeant rationem, omnes leges despernere videntur." It has *not* been proved that the *meaning* of the adjective has been influenced by the particular tense-stem from which the verbal has been derived, hence this question does not strictly pertain to the subject under discussion. As, however, Greek grammars are so very misleading—or else silent—on this point, it should be alluded to in passing. More vital for us is the second question—concerning the *accentuation* of the forms—with which also the third is connected. Grammarians (cf. e. g. Lobeck, *Paralipomena grammaticae graecae*, pp. 455–98; Moisisstzig, *l. l.*, I, p. 13 ff.) tell us that, as a rule, these adjectives, when *simplicia*, are oxytoned and have three endings (*σεπτός, σεπτή, σεπτόν*); when, however, *composita* they have the recessive accent, and only two endings (*χαλκήλατος, χαλκήλατον*). But as to the derivatives Chandler is quite in despair: "In fact, however" (he says, *Greek Accentuation*², §529), "these words are in such a state of confusion, that no rule can be depended on, and all must be left to observation," and after citing numerous Greek authorities, he cites Lobeck, *l. l.*, and closes thus (§530): "His (Lobeck's) researches prove that these words have been brought into such incredible confusion that it would be quite useless to attempt the construction of a more precise rule than that given above." "It is clear," he says, §427, "that scribes did not know how to write many of these verbals." We shall not even tabulate Sophocles' use of the verbals, in respect to their accentuation and motion. Suffice it to say that in Sophocles, as in Aischylos, the rule of accentuation is quite rigidly observed, that of the *motio* less strictly. But we must not accept a very widespread theory, which invites our belief all the more from being supported by such names as Lobeck (cf. *Paralipomena*, p. 478) and Gottfried Hermann. We refer to the 'law' that parasyntetheta are *oxytoned* when modal, but show the *recessive accent* when merely passive; e. g. *διαλυτός* = modal : *διάλυτος* = passive. Now, this rule is not observed with any degree of strictness in the older language (cf. George Curtius, *Das Verbum*², II, p. 389), and

while many adjectives seem to conform to it, yet the rule, as a rule, has been given up long since: "and this rule," says Chandler, l. l., §531, note 2, "holds of very many words, but the exceptions and variations are countless and bewildering." We should rather derive *διαλυτός* from *διαλύω*, it being accented as a simplex, but *διάλυτος* from *διά* + *λυτός*. The following *passive* parasyntheta are oxytoned in Sophocles: *ἀπωστός* (Ai. 1019), *ἐμπολητός* (Phil. 417), *ἐπακτόν* (Ai. 1296, Tr. 259), *προσφθεγκτός* (Ph. 1067), *ἀνασπαστός* (Ant. 1186), *διαιρετόν* (Trach. 163), *ἐπακτός* (O. C. 1525, Tr. 491). *Modal parasyntheta not oxytoned* are *ἀπόπτυστος* (O. C. 1383), *ἐμπληκτος* (Ai. 1358), *ἀπώμοτον* (Ant. 388), *ἐξάγιστα* (O. C. 1526). Cf. Westphal, *Method. Gramm. der gr. Sprache*, I, p. 169 ff. Another 'crux' in the formation of these verbals is the much-talked-of *sigma*, which often appears thrust in between the stem of the verb and the ending -τος; cf. Wex, ad Ant. 29; Reisig, O. C. 1564; Lobeck, Ai. 704; Jebb, Appendix to O. R., p. 225; Curtius, *Das Verbum*², II, p. 389 ff.; M. I., p. 9. Both the Sanskrit and the Latin participles show not infrequently a 'connecting vowel' *i* before the ending: in Greek, instead of this connecting vowel, the consonant *σ* is often seen between stem and ending. Gottfried Hermann suggested the rule that those forms without the *σ* were merely passive, while those with the *σ* were modal. But even Hermann's statements of this rule are contradictory, or at least inaccurate, for he says (O. R. 362) "*γνωτός enim notum, γνωστός eum, qui potest nosci significat*," while in the note to O. C. 1362 we read "*κλαυτός proprie est defletus, deinde autem ad exemplum aliorum verbalium, lacrimabilis; κλαυστός autem lacrimandus, i. e. quem convenit defleri*"! It was of this rule that Moisisstzig exclaimed (I, p. 9) "*Sententia duobus vel tribus exemplis faulta, sexcentis refutatur, et vir summus ipse (= Hermann) in verba sua leviter fortasse effusa profecto non iuraret*." Eustathius repeatedly states that there is no difference in meaning between *γνωστόν* and *γνωτόν*, *ἄγνωστον* and *ἄγνωτον*, save perhaps that the forms with *σ* are the later of the two; cf. pp. 687, 30 f.; 400, 24 f.; 1450, 62 f.; 384, 4 f. Cf. Suidas s. v. *σίσσεται*: *σίσσεται καὶ σεσωμένος οἱ παλαιοὶ ἄνευ τοῦ σ. καὶ διεξωμένοι φησὶ Θουκυδίδης· οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι σίσσωσμαι, ἐπ' ἐνίων δ' ἀπλῶς παραλείπουσι τὸ σ, κεκλειμένον, πεπρημένον*. Cf. Walz, *Rhet. Graec.* IV, pp. 2-3. The readings of the manuscripts are little to be trusted, being themselves contradictory and unreliable; cf. Wex, Antig. 29, where, by a single example, we see how hopelessly confusing the

MS authorities are: similarly Reisig, O. C. 1564. That the metre influences the poet in the choice or rejection of the sigmatic form in not a few instances is not to be denied, as e. g. in the case of a penultimate short vowel: if, however, the penult is long, the σ , of course, does not affect the metrical length of the syllable; and even in such cases the usage appears to be entirely arbitrary. After reading Lobeck's note of over nine pages to Ajax, v. 704, one feels that it is utter folly to attempt anything more than a rehearsal of the numberless difficulties which even a Lobeck met in discussing so hopelessly complicated a question. He has shown that many cases are simply inexplicable, while others owe their σ to the presence of this consonant in the perfect or aorist passive: where the perfect or aorist forms are themselves variable—appearing now with, now without the σ —a corresponding variability is to be expected in the verbalia. He even extends the examination of this sigma to the *nouns* formed from these verbs, and finds in them also a similar confusion. From Lobeck's huge mass of examples, taken at random from writers in prose and poetry of nearly every period of the language, we turn, lastly, to the very different, but hardly less complicated, attempt at a solution of the problem as given by George Curtius, *Das Verbum*², II, p. 394 ff. He argues that in not a few cases—he enumerates fourteen roots—the seemingly inexplicable sigma is nothing but the just representative of a once present final sibilant of the root: this sigmatic final then disappeared in the Greek verb, although comparative philology shows that it belonged to the root, and it now reappears in the verbal: thus are explained e. g. $\alpha\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (St. $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$: Skt. $\acute{g}ush$), $\epsilon\rho\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (St. $F\epsilon\rho\upsilon\varsigma$ for $F\epsilon\rho\varsigma$, Lat. *vers*: *verrere*), $\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ($\sqrt{\tau\tau\epsilon\varsigma}$, Skt. *tras*), $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$, and others. Similarly, roots with original final dental are to be explained, e. g. Plato's $\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ($\sqrt{\delta\alpha\tau}$). Derivative verbs are more complicated, but $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ($\alpha\nu\acute{\eta}\kappa\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$) seems to go back to an original $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\sigma\jmath\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$: so $\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$. But, after all, the greater number of these inexplicable forms finds its explanation "in dem ausgedehnten Austausch zwischen den Verben, welche durch Ausstossung des ursprünglich-vorhandenen j vor dem thematischen Vocal einen vocalischen Stamm zeigen, und denen, in welchen sich vor jenem j ein δ entwickelt hat, das mit diesem zu ζ wird." Already in Homer there are ten cases of verbs in $a\omega$ which exhibit parallel forms in $a\zeta\omega$: similarly, some verbs in $e\omega$ show secondary forms in $e\zeta\omega$, and possibly some in $v\omega$ have forms from those in $v\zeta\omega$. Thus $a\zeta\omega$ may, through $a\omega$, go

back to **ajō*, similarly *εζω* or *ιζω* to **εjō*, and *υζω* to **υjō*. Such verbs are e. g. *ἀγαμαι*, *δαμάω*, *αἰνέω*: *σώζω* seems to be very complicated, because its forms have become tangled up with those of a verb *σάω*: Homer does not show the questionable *σ* in this verb at all, and only once the *ζ* (*σώζων*), where *σάων* is to be written. This *ζ* arose from *j* especially after the vowel *υ* and the diphthongs *αυ*, *ευ*, *ου*: so e. g. *καυστός* and *κλαυστός*: *γνωστός* may possibly carry us back to **γνωjō*. Curtius closes this chapter with a word of warning against the temptation to be too exact in accepting or rejecting certain of these forms: the tradition of the MSS is often worse than a poor guide, the sigma became more and more popular with time, and the author doubted if more than such beginnings of explanations would ever be made, with any degree of certainty. "Yet I would suggest," observes Jebb, p. 225 of the Appendix to his edition of *Oedipus rex*, "on the other hand, that the special attribution of a potential sense to the sigmatic forms may have thus much ground. When two forms, such as *γνωτός* and *γνωστός* were both current, regular analogies would quicken the sense that *γνωτός* had a participial nature, while *γνωστός*, in which the *σ* obscured the analogy, would be felt more as an ordinary adjective, and would therefore be used with less strict regard to the primary participial force. Thus it might be ordinarily *preferred* to *γνωτός*, when 'knowable' was to be expressed. At the same time, it would always remain an available synonym for *γνωτός* as = 'known'."

Those verbals which exhibit the simple passive signification—without the modal coloring—will be taken up first. While, naturally, most of these verbals are derived from active verbs, yet some are derived from media, e. g. *κρεμαστός*, *λωβητός*, etc. First we shall enumerate those verbals in which the *act* of the verb is prior to the resulting condition as expressed by the verbal itself: such cases, then, contain the idea of relatively past action. It is, however, not infrequently hard to see if the composita with a privativum really do refer to a past act, the negative resulting condition oftentimes being separated by so exceedingly narrow a space of time from the (negative) act, which could in many cases be said rather to accompany than to precede the condition as represented in the verbal. And yet such cases have been referred to past rather than to present acts. Again, it would have been tedious and very unsatisfactory, had the attempt been made to classify

strictly all cases in which the adjective was, or seemed to be, used *proleptically*; and yet this is not unimportant, as the modality may have arisen out of a sort of prolepsis. The individual examples are divided into those in which the adjective is associated (α) with a *person*, (β) with a *thing*: animals have been regarded as things. It has not been proved that the metre has in any way influenced the poet in the use of these verbalia in -τος; we shall see, however, that the case is different with those in -τέος. The following list of dissertations and programs is here appended: Dr. Henricus Moissisitzig, *Quaestiones de adiectivis graecis, quae dicuntur, verbalibus*: the *first part* (Conitz, 1844) contains a general introduction into the subject; a *second part* (Conitz, 1853) treats of the Platonic use of these adjectives; the *third part* (1861) treats of Demosthenes' use of the verbals: there are still other numbers of these programs, but they are obtained not without the greatest difficulty. Gross has two programs: *Specimen disputationis de adiectivis verbalibus in -τος et -τέος exeuntibus*, Marienwerder, 1839, and *Disputationis de adiectivis verbalibus in -τος et -τέος exeuntibus specimen alterum*, Marienwerder, 1847. Other monographs bearing more or less directly on the subject are: Joannes Schmidt, *De epithetis compositis in tragoedia Graeca usurpatis*, Berlin, 1865; Kopetsch, *De verbalibus in -τος et -τέος Platonicis*, dissertatio, cui intextae sunt breves de Homericis adnotationes, Lyck, 1860; Wilh. Holtze, *Adversaria semasiologiae apud poetas graecos usque ad Euripidem*, Naumburg a. S., 1866; Carolus Schambach, *Sophocles qua ratione vocabulorum significationes mutet atque variet*, in two parts, the first a dissertation (Göttingen, 1867), the latter a program (Nordhausen, 1878); Arnold Juris, *De Sophoclis vocibus singularibus*, Halle a. S., 1876; Friedrich Slameczka, *Über Eigenthümlichkeiten im Gebrauche der Epitheta bei Sophokles*, program, Teschen, 1869; Carolus Schindler, *De Sophocle verborum inventore*, Breslau, 1877. Other monographs will be mentioned on occasion. The verses are quoted according to Dindorf-Merkel, whose text is taken as the basis: the fragments are quoted from the first edition of Nauck's *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*: the scholiast is cited according to the edition of Papageorg, Teubner, 1888. Whenever our reading differs materially from that of the Laurentianus, this is indicated.

VOICE, PASSIVE: TIME, RELATIVELY PAST.

a) *With Persons.*

O. C. 973 ἀγεννήτος τότε ἦ. Trach. 61 καὶ ἀγεννήτων. Trach. 1083 ἀγύμναστον μ'. Schol. ὀδύνης ἀπείραστον, ἄνετον ὀδυνῶν. On Hesychius' definition, πολυγυμνάστοις, cf. Clemm, "de alpha intensivo," p. 71, II. O. C. 1120 ἄελπτα (τέκνα). We follow Hermann, "Sunt qui hos putent accusativos esse absolutos, et ἄελπτα pro adverbio positum. Quorum nihil opus." Schol. οὐ γὰρ φησιν ἀέλπτως φανέντων ἐμοὶ τῶν τέκνων μηκύνω τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ <τὰ> τέκνα φανέντα εἶτα μηκύνω τὸν λόγον. Hesychius and Cyrillus define the verbal by the 'more Attic' (Rutherford, New Phrynichus, p. 26) ἀπροσδόκητον. Ai. 1177 ἄθαπτος ἐκπέσοι. Ai. 1307 ἀθάπτους (οὐς). Ai. 1333 ἄθαπτον (ἄνδρα). Ant. 205-6 ἄθαπτον . . . καὶ πρὸς κυνῶν ἐδεστών (τοῦτον). Ant. 697 ἄθαπτον (αὐτάδελφον). Phil. 351 ἄθαπτον. With Hermann, we do not join these words with the following οὐ γὰρ εἰδόμην. "Itaque," says he, "necessario hoc dicere putandus est Neoptolemus, se, quoniam nunquam vidisset patrem suum, nunc saltem, priusquam sepulcro corpus traderetur, videre eum cupivisse." O. C. 1521 ἄθικτος ἡγητήρος (of the speaker himself). We consider the verbal passive, as against those (e. g. Holtze, p. 6: "proprie: non tangens ducem, quod interpretes omnes (?) passive videntur accepisse (intactus a duce)"), who ascribe to it an active force, which ἄθικτος does not have before Callimachus. Trach. 417 αἰχμάλωτον (τὴν). Trach. 532 αἰχμάλωτοις παισιν. Ai. 1284 ἀκέλευστος ἦλθ' ἐναντίος. Tr. 45 ἀκέρυκτος μένει. Schol. ἄσημος, οὐ μηννόμενος ὅπου ποτ' ἐστίν· ὃν οὐδεὶς ἐλθὼν κηρύττει καὶ ἀπαγγέλλει ποῦ πότ' ἐστίν. Ant. 1027 ἀκίνητος πέλῃ. ἀκίνητος γ: ἀκείται L, which also gives the variant αἰνήτος. Schol. ἀμετάθετος. Ant. 29 ἄκλαυτον. ἄταφον ἄκλαυτον, L: ἄκλαυτον ἄταφον, γ. The Πολυνείκους νέκυν of vs. 26 is here not to be regarded as a thing. Ant. 847 ἄκλαυτος . . . ἔρχομαι. V. L. ἄκλαυστος. Ant. 876 ἄκλαυτος . . . ἔρχομαι. V. L. ἄκλαυστος. Other words in the verse are suspected by Hermann. Ai. 289 ἄκλητος οὐθ' . . . κληθεῖς. Some, finding ἄκλητος οὐθ' . . . κληθεῖς tautological, suspect the reading. With Hermann Schütz (Sophokleische Studien, p. 25), we think that, if anything is to be changed, it should be κληθεῖς, not ἄκλητος. Trach. 39 ἀνάστατοι (ἡμεῖς). We derive the verbal from the causal force of ἀνίστημι, surgere facio (Steph.) Hesychius defines it by κατεστραμμένους. Cf. Anec. Bekk., p. 211, 10. O. C. 429 ἀνάστατος . . . ἐπέμφθην. Fg. 736 ἀπαιδεύτων βροτῶν. Phil. 731

κάποπληκτος . . . ἔχει. Antig. 1035 ἄπρακτος (μαντικῆς) εἶμι. "Poeta," says Hermann, "quod proprie diceretur, κοῦδὲ μαντικὴ ἄπρακτος ὅμιν ἐστὶ κατ' ἐμοῦ, invertit, dixitque, et ne a vaticiniis quidem intentatus vobis sum." Him we follow, with Wex, Schambach (II, p. 3), Jebb, Campbell, Holtze (p. 6), Kvičala (Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Sophocles, III, p. 83 sq.) and others. Ai. 1019 ἀπωστός . . . ἀπορριφθήσομαι. Suidas defines the verbal here with ἐκδεδιωγμένος. O. C. 906 ἄτρωτον (τοῦτον). Trach. 392 αὐτόκλητος (ἀνὴρ). Cf. Joh. Schmidt, p. 35, note 15. Ai. 908 ἀφαρκτος φίλων. Schol. ἀφύλακτος, οὐ πεφραγμένος καὶ τετειχισμένος τοῖς φίλοις. On the spelling (ἄφαρκτος vs. ἄπρακτος) cf. Blaydes ad loc. O. C. 1702 ἀφίλητος (οὐδὲ γὰρ ὦν ἀφίλητος). We accept Hermann's γὰρ ὦν for the γέρων of the L. The scholiast's λείπει τὸ ἦς is now senseless. Fg. 262 γνωτός . . . ἀνὴρ. But the verbal may be considered indefinitely present; cf. κλυτός. Ai. 211 δουριάλωτον (σέ, but cf. Schol.). Ai. 894 δουρίληπτον . . . νύμφην. Phil. 417 οὐμπολητός Σισύφου. Ai. 1296 ἐπακτὸν ἄνδρ'. Trach. 259 ἐπακτὸν (στρατὸν). Or is a στρατός a thing? Ai. 1386 οὐπιβρόντητος (στρατηγός). Unless conjectures be resorted to, the passage can be explained only by taking this to be the only passage in extant Greek, in which ἐπιβροντάω is used in the sense of ἐμβροντάω. Clearly the verbal means *attonitus* 'thunderstruck' (as against Campbell's *modal* interpretation of it). So the Schol.: οὐπιβρόντητος] ὃν εἰώθαμεν λέγειν ἐμβρόντητον. Cf. Suidas s. v. Ant. 406 ἀπίληπτος ἤρεθθ'. Ai. 103 τοῦπίτριπτον κίναδος. Thus Ajax alludes to Ulysses. Adjectives which, like this one, have acquired some idiomatic meaning are not infrequently particularly hard to trace back from their present meaning to that from which this meaning has arisen: so here. Suidas defines ἐπίτριπτος by ὁ ἐπιτριβῆναι ἄξιος: Stephanus "contritus. conteri dignus (!)." Campbell, translating 'the accursed fox,' says "The verbal, by a sort of prolepsis (!), expresses what ought to be." Taken passively, the verbal is stronger, because saying more, than when taken modally. Cf. German 'ein geriebener Kerl.' O. C. 389 ζητητὸν (σέ). Ant. 957 κατάφαρκτος ἐν δεσμῷ. On the spelling cf. Jebb, Ant. 241; Wecklein, Curae epigraphicae, p. 44 f. Ant. 309 κρεμαστοὶ . . . δηλώσθ' ὕβριν. We derive the verbal from the transitive meaning of κεράννυμι 'herabhängen lassen' (Pape). Ant. 1221 κρεμαστήν αὐχένος. O. R. 1263 κρεμαστήν τὴν γυναῖκ'. Trach. 27 κριτὸν (λέχος). O. R. 19 λεκτοὶ (οἱ δ'). Ai. 1388 λωβητὸν αὐτὸν. Phil. 1103 λωβατός (ἐγὼ). O. R. 780 πλαστός ὡς εἶην. Schol. προσποιη-

τός, ἀλλότριος, νόθος. Trach. 276 πρατόν νυν. Ai. 830 πρόβλητος (ρίφθῳ). El. 126 πρόδοτον ('Αγαμέμνονα). El. 1074 πρόδοτος... 'Ηλέκτρα. Phil. 1067 προσφθεγκτός (γενήσομαι). Schol. προσφωνηθῆναι ἄξιος. Scarcely any one nowadays considers this verbal modal. Of this and several other adjectives whose accent doubtless misled the ancients, Lobeck says (Paralipp., p. 489): "Si vero de Homero res parum explorata videtur, posteriorum scripta magnam oxytonorum copiam suppeditant, quae a potentiali significatione longe seiuncta sunt." O. C. 1534 σπαρτῶν ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν. Phil. 335 τοξευτός (τέθνηκεν). O. R. 1123 ὠνητός (δοῦλος).

β) *With Things.*

Fg. 775 τὰ γένητα (ἅπαντα). τὰ γένη τὸ, Plut. Mor., p. 732 D. τὰ γένητα, Valck. τὰ γένητα, Nauck. O. R. 58. γνωτὰ κοῦκ ἄγνωτα. Thus the La. And yet Ritter changes the reading to ἀγνώτα, on the ground that the ancients never used the word ἄγνωτος. But ἄγνωτος is so far from being un-Greek that it is even proved for Sophocles' time. In Pindar, Ol. VI. 67, two good MSS give ἄγνωτον, and in the Frogs of Aristophanes, v. 926 of the two traditional readings, ἄγνωτα and ἀγνώτα, the latter has long ago been rejected by Lobeck (Paralipp., p. 274) and Bergk. Ant. 454 ἄγραπτα... νόμιμα; Ai. 53-54 σύμμικτά τε... ἄδαστα... φρονήματα. On the construction and punctuation of the words cf. Lobeck's note ad loc. It seems that Attic inscriptions always write σύμμεικτος (Meisterhans, Grammatik der attischen Inschriften², p. 144, Note 1253 b)). O. C. 249 ἀδόκητον χάριν. Ai. 1166 αἰείμνηστον τάφον. The verbal is used proleptically. Schol. τὸν ἐσόμενον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τάφον αἰείμνηστον. Ai. 715 ἐξ ἀέλπτων Αἴας μεταγενώσθη θυμῶν. Schol. ἐξ ἀνελπίστων καὶ μεγάλων νεικέων. Some join the verbal with θυμῶν. We have hesitatingly taken the expression ἐξ ἀέλπτων adverbially, although Lobeck doubts if, in the earlier period, ἐξ ἀέλπτων is used for the usual ἐξ ἀέλπτου or ἐξ ἀπροσδοκίτου. In either event the verbal is passive. Trach. 203 ἀέλπτου ὄμμ'. Ant. 467 ἄθαπτον... νέκυν. Trach. 686 φάρμακον... ἄθικτον. O. R. 439 αἰνικτὰ (πάντα). Or is the time of the adjective relatively present rather than past? O. R. 384 δωρητόν, οὐκ αἰτητόν (ἦν = ἀρχήν). O. R. 255-6 θεήλατον, ἀκάθαρτον (πράγμα). Schol. ὑπὸ θεῶν ἐλαυνόμενον. O. R. 1427 ἀκάλυπτον (ἄγος). Trach. 875 ἐξ ἀκινήτου ποδός. O. C. 1708 ἄκλαυτον (πένθος). Fg. 856 ἄκρατος (ἕμερος). So the MSS: thus taken the verbal is

passive, and the metaphor taken from wine. El. 786 ἄκρατον αἶμα. O. C. 1261 ἀκτένιστος (κόμη). But the time of the verbal may be a general present. Ant. 1071 ἀκτέριστον . . . νέκυν. Ant. 1207 ἀκτέριστον . . . παστάδα. Ant. 1309 ἀμφιθήκτω ξίφει. Trach. 572 ἀμφίθρεπτον αἶμα. Ant. 1186 ἀνασπαστοῦ πύλης. With Wex, Böckh and others, we accept Hermann's explanation of this difficult adjective: "ἀνασπαστοῦ πύλης κλείθρα χαλῶσα dictum usitatissima figura, pro ὥστε ἀνασπαστὸν γενέσθαι . . . Sed vereor ne nihil aliud quam pessuli retractio significetur." Cf. Lobeck, Paralipp., p. 490. Schol. (similarly Triclinius) δυσχερῶς ἀνασπώμενης καὶ ἀνοιγομένης (!). Trach. 240 ἀνάστατον . . . χώραν γυναικῶν. While ἀνάστατος is more properly used of persons, still its use of things is so plainly shown that it is absurd to resort to conjectures, writing e. g. ἀναστάτων to agree with γυναικῶν. Cf. Bekk., Anec. Graec., p. 211: ἀνάστατον τὴν πόλιν ποιήσας: ἀνοικίσας ἢ μεταστήσας ἢ μεταγαγόν. Suidas s. v. εἴρηται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πόλεων ἐαλωκυῶν καὶ οἰκῶν ἐξερημωθέντων τὸ ἀνάστατον. Cf. Soph. Ant. 673: Andocides, κατὰ Ἀλκιβιάδου, 31; Lycophron, Alexandra, vs. 770. Ant. 673 ἀναστάτους οἴκους. Trach. 673 ἀνέλπιστον (θαῦμα). Schol. θανμαστὸν καὶ οἶον οὐκ ἂν τις ἐλπίζει παθεῖν. Fg. 264 ἀντίπλαστον νόμον. Hesych. ἀντὶ τοῦ ἰσόπλαστον, ὅμοιον. Fg. 375 ἀντίσπαστά τε Λυδῆς ἐφυμνεί πηκτίδος συγχορδία. But the sense of the Fg. is uncertain, and Campbell takes the verbal to be an (adverbial) accusative plural. Ant. 980 ἀνύμφετον γονάν. Triclinius observes: δέον δὲ εἰπεῖν, ἀνυμφεύτου μητρός, ἀνύμφετον πρὸς τὸ γονὰν εἶπε. Nearly every one is satisfied with this explanation, and yet Slameczka exclaims (l. l., p. 6): "Jedoch passt dasjenige, was oben als Hermann's Bemerkung über die Enallage angeführt wurde, auf unseren Fall sehr wenig, weil sich bei aller Kühnheit doch nicht annehmen lässt, dass die γονά selbst ἀνύμφετος genannt werden könne. Nauck hält, daher, die Stelle für verderbt" (!). O. C. 19 ἀξέστον πέτρον. Phil. 868 ἄπιστον οἰκούρημα. Immo, says Hermann, ἐλπιδων ἄπιστον est ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐλπίδος ἀπιστηθέν. Phil. 467 ἀπόπτου (ἐξ ἀπόπτου opposed to ἐγγύθεν). Ant. 44 ἀπόρητον πόλει (θάπτειν σφ'). Schol. τὸν ἀπηγορευμένον καὶ κεκωλυμένον ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως τολμᾶς θάπτειν σφ'; Followed by Wex, who attempts to prove from the following corrupt verses that the verbal refers to σφέ, although ἀπόρητος seems never to be used with persons. With e. g. Matthiä (Gr. Gr., §564, p. 1112) we take the verbal to be neuter; cf. Hermann's note ad loc. El. 1017 ἀπροσδόκητον οὐδέν. Cf. Dobree, Adversaria critica, I, p. 32. Ant. 972 ἀρατὸν ἔλκος. If this reading be correct, the verbal is passive, though Triclinius'

definition (καταράσιμον) would rather be modal. El. 1012 ἄρρητ' . . . φυλάξομαι. Ellendt's 'nefandus dictu' is certainly not a happy translation of the verbal, which is here merely passive, with prolepsis. Ant. 556 ἀρρήτοις . . . λόγοις. Trach. 687 ἀρτίχριστον (νιν). Schol. παρατὰ χριόμενον. Fg. 791 ἀσπάθητον χλαῖναν. Ἀσπάθητον χλαῖναν: ἀνέφαντον, Anecd. Bekk., p. 453, 18. O. R. 1231 αὐθαίρετοι (αἱ sc. πημονῶν). O. C. 523 αὐθαίρετον οὐδέν. Until some very decidedly preferable reading has been suggested, we follow the tradition, with which most editors now content themselves. "Auch αὐθαίρετον ist zweifellos richtig," says Schütz (boldly), p. 154. Fg. 1022 αὐθαίρετα πάντα. Fg. 308 αὐτοκτίτους δόμους. Bloomfield, however, derives the verbal (Gloss. in Aesch. Prom., vs. 309) not from κρίζω, but from *κτίω. Fg. 276 ἀφύλλωτον πέτραν. The context is lost, and the etymology of the adjective—a ἄπ. λεγ.—is uncertain. If, with Passow, we derive it from the doubtful verb φυλλόω ('belauben,' cf. Hippocr. de nat. puer., c. 8), it is passive. Or is it a Bahuvrihi? Stephanus says: "ἀφύλλωτος affertur pro ἄφυλλος. Sonat autem q. d. infoliatu, i. e. non foliatu." Fg. 638 ἀχάλκευτα τρύπανα. O. R. 396 γνωτόν (ἐκ θεῶν του). Trach. 163 διαιρετόν (μοῖραν). MSS and editors vary as to the accentuation of the verbal. There seems, however, to be no certain proof that the form διαίρετος existed at all. El. 344 διδακτά (νουθετήματα). Ant. 346 δικτυοκλώστοις (σπείραισι). Schol. τοῖς σχοινοῖς τοῖς εἰς δίκτυον κεκλωσμένοις ἢ συγκλείουσι τὰ δίκτυα. Ai. 146 δορίληπτος (λεῖα). Trach. 677 ἐδεστόν ἐξ αὐτοῦ φθίνει. Ai. 1302 ἔκκριτον . . . δώρημα. This δώρημα was, however, a person. Trach. 12 ἐλικτός (δράκων). But this verbal may contain the idea of a universal present; and, again, the δράκων is really a person. O. C. 1671 ἔμφυτον . . . αἶμα. Fg. 293 ἐνήλατα ξύλα. Thus we read, and thus connect the words in this corrupt passage, whose meaning is not made much clearer even by Lobeck's long note to Phrynichus, p. 178. Perhaps the adjective is merely passive: "das Hineingetriebene" (Pape). Rutherford, in the Phrynichus passage, is compelled to leave the question 'unsettled.' O. C. 1525 ἐπακτοῦ (δορός). Trach. 491 ἐπακτόν (νόσον). Ai. 730 ἐρυστὰ . . . ξίφη. Ant. 430 εὐκροτήτου . . . πρόχου. O. C. 1707 εὐσκίαστον (κοίταν). With Passow, we derive this verbal (a ἄπ. λεγ.?) from σκιάζω. Fg. 676 ἐξάιρετον . . . ἀκουσίαν. El. 702 ζυγωτῶν ἀρμάτων. Phil. 987 ἠφαισινότευκτον (σέλας). O. R. 992 θεήλατον μάντευμα. Ant. 278 θεήλατον τοῦργον. Fg. 615 θεηλάτους (νόσους). El. 707 θεοδμήτων (Ἀθηνῶν). O. C. 1472 θέσφατος . . . τελευτή. Schol.

ἡ θεοπισθείσα τελευτή. The verbal remains passive, whether we derive it from λ /φα 'to speak' (with e. g. Vaníček, p. 571; cf. Lobeck, Rhematikon, p. 128, vs. Curtius, Grundzüge⁵, p. 515) or from λ /σφα (cf. Göbel, Lexilogus, I, p. 77). O. C. 969 θέσφατον (τι). Ant. 1286 κακάγγελτα . . . ἄχη. Schol. κακὴν ἀγγελίαν ἔχοντα. "Dolores," explains Iuris, p. 37, "ex malo nuntio excitati. Schol. perperam active: κακὴν . . . ἔχοντα." Slameczka, p. 11, would here—as frequently elsewhere—resolve the adjective into its component parts, κακάγγελτα ἄχη = ἄχη κακῆς ἀγγελίας 'den Jammer einer schlimmen Botschaft.' Better is Schmidt's 'mala calamitose nuntiata' (p. 14). The -αγγελτα is added merely to give the expression that *poetic fullness* so common in the Tragedians, especially in lyric passages. Ant. 1011 καλυπτῆς . . . πιμελῆς. Schol. ἐκ τοῦ λίπους τῆς καλυπτούσης αὐτοὺς πιμελῆς ἐξέπιπτον. Defining it actively, Matthiae (Gram., §220, 2), Brunck ad loc. ("καλυπτῆς, id est τῆς καλυπτούσης . . . activam hic significationem habet"), Hermann, Wex (Ant., v. 392) and others follow the Schol. But these editors were misled by two circumstances: the Scholiast was merely giving the *general sense* of the passage, as he understood it, not parsing the adjective; furthermore, καλύπτειν by no means always signifies 'umhüllen, bedecken,' καλύπτειν τινά; but can (already in Homer) mean 'über einen etwas decken,' καλύπτειν τινί τι (see examples in Pape, Ebeling, etc.). So here: 'fielen aus dem umgewickelten Fette' (Pape). So Mehlhorn, Anacreontea, p. 240: "Ad hoc genus, in quo perversa activae significationis derivatio interpretes fefellit, pertinet etiam locus in Soph. in Antig. 1010 . . . Aperte hoc non simpliciter est *tegere*, sed *circumvolvere aliquid circa aliquid vel superinducere*." So Böckh (p. 272): "καλυπτῆς ist nicht activisch zu fassen, sondern ist von der *umgehüllten* . . . Umwicklung zu verstehen": similarly Stephanus. Ant. 1253 κατάσχετον (τι). Fg. 10 καταστίκτου κυνός. Fg. 365 κηρόπλαστον ὄργανον. Trach. 245 κριτὸν (κτῆμα). Phil. 1112 κρυπτὰ τ' ἔπη. El. 159 κρυπτᾶ τ' ἀχέων ἐν ἡβᾳ. Scarcely a word of this passage is free from suspicion. Some want ἐλευθέρα for κρυπτᾶ: others cannot imagine how Suidas and the Schol. came to consider ἀχέων a participle: the metre is entirely out of shape. If anything is certain in this confusion, it seems to be that κρυπτᾶ is here certainly passive, meaning 'hidden.' With Haupt, Op. II, p. 291, we follow those who join ἀχέων as a genitive with κρυπτᾶ. Ant. 1198 κυνοσπάρακτον σῶμα; Ant. 1275 λακπάτητον . . . χαράν. Schol. τὴν μεθ' ὕβρεως ἀπωθουμένην ἢ τὴν μεγάλως καταπατουμένην.

Variae lectiones λεωπάτητον, λαξπάτητον, λάξ πατητόν. We follow the Laurentianus and Triclinius. The Schol. further adds τὴν χαρὰν λάξ πατήσας. Hermann saw that the Schol. was trying to explain two readings. Trach. 1261 λιθοκόλλητον στόμιον πρίονσ'. Variae lectiones λυκοκόλλητον, πυκνοκόλλητον, πυρικόλλητον (cf. Schütz, p. 446), and others. Of this passage—one of the most annoying in Sophocles—the Schol. says: ἄγε οὖν, φησὶν, ὧ σκληρὰ ψυχῇ, ὥς ἀπὸ χαλυβικοῦ σιδήρου πεποιημένη πρὶν τήνδε ἀνακινήσαι νόσον ἐνδοῦσα τὸ σεαυτῆς στόμα ἐμφραγῆναι ὥσανεὶ στόμα φρέατος λίθω κεκολλημένον πρὸς τὸ μηκέτι ὕδωρ ἀνιμᾶσθαι· λείπει δὲ τὸ ὥς, ὥς ἀπὸ χάλυβος γενομένη. χάλυβος λιθοκόλλητον στόμιον παρέχουσ' λίθινον καὶ σκληρὸν χαλινὸν σαυτῇ ἐπιβαλοῦσα. But what does στόμιον mean here? 'A bit,' or 'the mouth of a cave'? The Schol. accepts both meanings! If it means 'the mouth of a cave,' the verbal means 'cemented,' and is, hence, passive: or is it a derivative from λιθοκόλλα 'cement'? Στόμιον means, however, in Sophocles, more frequently 'a bit,' and so we interpret it here. Accepting the λιθοκόλλητος of the MSS, we take the verbal to mean 'set with stones'—whether costly ones as ornaments, or sharp ones for cutting more effectually the mouth, does not affect the passiveness of the verbal. Welcker's arguments (Rh. Mus. II 2, 206; 1834) against our rendering of λιθοκόλλητος avail nothing, as his results are there all based on the use of the adjective in later authors. Ant. 1204 λιθόστρωτον... νυμφεῖον; Trach. 1069 λωβητόν εἶδος. Nauck, Merkel, Schütz (p. 443) suspect the verse as spurious. Ai. 30 νεορράντῳ ξίφει. Ai. 828 νεορράντῳ ξίφει. Ai. 6 ἔχνη νεοχάραχθ'. Schol. νεωστὶ κεχαραγμένα. Phil. 715 οἶνοχύτου πώματος. The question is, what relations exist between the elements οἶνος, χυτός and πῶμα? The Schol. cuts the knot by explaining οἶνον περιφραστικῶς. Schindler (p. 62) argues: "Nec recusant eandem illam per duplex subiectum explicationem frequentissima illa cum -χυτός, -χοος, -ρυτός composita, ut Sophoclis (Ph. 715) οἶνόχυτον πῶμα, potus vini infusi, vel Euripidea ὑδρόχυτοι κρῆναι (Cycl. 66), πῶμα ὑδρηχόον (fr. Nauck, 884), ῥανίδες αἱματόρρυτοι (Iph. Aul. 1515), alia, quae apud omnes poetas passim deprehenduntur similia. In quibus tamen prop-terea mihi diffido, quod haud scio an intransitivam vim hic—ut saepe alias—contraxerint adiectiva verbalia -χυτός, -ρυτός, -χοος, substantiva autem, quibuscum colligata illa sunt, dativo intellegenda sint: vino, aqua, sanguine manans." But χύεται does not mean 'to flow.' Slameczka (p. 10)—and similarly Schmidt (p. 20)—explains it as used 'statt οἶνον χυτοῦ,' and classes it

along with those cases, 'wo das Epitheton ein Compositum ist, an dessen Stelle wir einen Genitiv mit einem Adjectiv erwarten.' Tessing, however, classes this passage with those sets of determinativa composita, of which he says (p. 67): "Huius generis composita ad nomina sua ita adiunguntur, ut posterior compositi pars significet actionem, cuius subiectum, quod aiunt, prior pars sit. Id autem vocabulum, ad quod refertur compositum, significat, quo tempore vel quo loco vel quo instrumento vel qua causa actio fiet." He argues that Sophocles and Euripides make frequent use of such composita. Thus explained, the expression means 'wine poured out *with a view to, for the purpose of being a πῶμα.*' But we think the οἶνος stands here merely in the relation of an instrumental to χυτός, the expression meaning then 'a drink poured out with wine,' the verbal being passive. Ant. 475 ὀπτὸν (σίδηρον). Ant. 1301 ὁ ξύθηκτος οἶδε βωμία πτέρυξ. La. ἡ δ' ὁξύθηκτος ἡδε βωμία πέριξ. Schol. ὁ ξείαν λαβοῦσα πληγὴν. "Parum constat," observes Schindler, p. 13, "utrum translate dictum Eurydicam denotet ad acrem furorem acutam, an proprie intellegendum sit de telo bene acuto, quo sensu Euripides vocem posuit Andr. 1118, 1150, El. 1159. Aegrotare enim codicum verba invictis argumentis Hermannus et Schneidewinus effecerunt, etsi, quousque corruptela pateat, non satis apparet." Many other conjectures have been suggested: cf. Schütz, p. 253; Wecklein, *Ars Sophoclis emendandi*, p. 74. We have hesitatingly adopted Hermann's ingenious conjecture, which accords with the Scholiast. Ant. 1316 ὁ ξυκώκυτον πάθος. With Stephanus ('acuta voce deploratus'), Böckh ('tiefbejammert'), Schindler (p. 13), Juris (p. 38), Tessing (p. 46) and others, we consider the verbal to be merely *passive*. Trach. 661 παγχρίστῳ (τὰς πειθοῦς). A corrupt passage. Schol. λείπει τὸ πέπλω, συγκεκραμένος καὶ ἄρμωσθεις τῇ πειθοῖ τοῦ θηρός. Hermann argues: "Constructio est συκραθεῖς ἐπὶ προφάσει θηρός, παγχρίστῳ τὰς πειθοῦς. Conciliatus praedictione Centauri, suada peruncta. Satis moleste haec Sophocles enunciauit, novata significatione vocabuli πρόφασις, id ut praedictionem vel mandatum indicaret. Sic certe unus ex scholiastis videtur accepisse, qui caeteroquin inepte scribit (to vs. 660), τῷ πέπλω τῆς πειθοῦς θελχθεῖς, τῷ ἐκ προφάσεως τοῦ Νέσσου κατεσκευασμένῳ." But παγχρίστῳ may be a noun. O. C. 1381 παλαίφατος Δίκη. O. C. 454 παλαίφαθ' (τάξ' ἐμοῦ). Trach. 823 παλαιφάτου προνοίας. Schol. γράφε παλαιφοῖβον ἔν' ἡ τῆς πάλαι μαντευσμένης· φοιβάσθαι γὰρ τὸ μαντεύεσθαι. "Facilius credas," says Hermann, "qui ita scripserunt, voluisse

tās pálai φοίβου προνοίας. Sed librorum scripturam numeri antistrophici tuentur." Ant. 131 παλτῶ . . . πυρὶ. Schol. τῶ κεραυνῶ τῶ ἄνωθεν παλθέντι. Ai. 230 παραπλάκτω χερὶ. Schol. τῇ μανικῇ παραπλήξ γὰρ ὁ μανικός. Ai. 907 πηκτὸν . . . ἔγχος. Schol. περιπεπηγὸς αὐτῶ. O. R. 1264 πλεκταῖς ἑώρας. Fg. 461 πλεκτοῖς (κημοῖσι). Fg. 490 πλεκταῖς . . . σπείραισι. πλεκταῖς, Nauck; πλεκτοῖς, Valck; πλείστους, L. Fg. 683 πνικτὰ . . . μέλη (?). O. C. 1592 πολυσχίστων (κελεύθων). πολυσχίστων, Heath; πολυσχίστωι, L. El. 207 πρόδοτον (βίον). Trach. 684 πρόρρητα (τά δ'). Schol. πρὸς ἐμὲ ὑπὸ Νέσσου προειρημένα· προμεμελετημένα μοι ἢ ἀπόρρητα. Wunder, Nauck, Wecklein (Ars Soph. emend., p. 132), Ellendt, Blaydes and others reject the verse as spurious. Trach. 1159 πρόφαντον (ῆν). Schol. προμεμαντευμένον, προειρημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς· οὕτω δὲ διὰ τοῦ σ ἐν τῇ τραγικῇ λέξει. Trach. 1163 πρόφαντον (τὸ θεῖον). Fg. 1021 πτερωτὰ φύλα. O. C. 1460 πτερωτὸς . . . βροντῇ. O. C. 1093 πυκνοστίκτων . . . ἐλάφων. Ant. 160 σύγκλητον . . . λίσχην. Schol. σύγκλητον λίσχην τὴν συγκληθεῖσαν ἐξαίφνης ὁμίλιαν ἐπειδήπερ μεταπεμφάμενος τοὺς ἐντίμους εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συνήγαγεν. Cf. Eustath., p. 732, 53. El. 568 στικτὸν . . . ἔλαφον. Phil. 184 στικτῶν . . . θηρῶν. Phil. 33 στιπτῇ γε φυλλὰς. V. L. στείπτῃ. Trach. 916 στρωτὰ . . . φάρη. Ai. 65 συνδέτους (οἴκους). Ai. 296 συνδέτους . . . ταύρους. O. R. 733 σχιστὴ δ' ὁδός. El. 747 τμητοῖς ἱμάσι. El. 863 τμητοῖς ὀλκοῖς. Evidently the verbal is passive; but what does ὀλκοῖς mean? Schol. τμητοῖς δὲ ὀλκοῖς τοῖς ἱμάσιν· ὀλκοὺς οὖν ἀντὶ τῶν ἱμάντων ἐν οἷς εἰλκύσθη· τμητοῖς λώροις. Suidas, speaking of this passage, explains thus: τουντέστι τοῖς λώροις, τοῖς ἱμάσιν· ὀλκοὺς οὖν ἀντὶ τῶν ἱμάντων, οἷς εἰλκύσθη Ὀρέστης πεσὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος. Musgrave cannot believe that ὀλκοῖς was used for λώροις, and hence resorts to conjectures; while Hermann exclaims "Non video, quid impediatur simplicius (i. e. than the explanation of the Schol.) sulcos intelligi rotis arenae impressos." Ant. 858 τριπόλιστον οἶτον. On this difficult passage see the notes of Wex and Hermann. At one time Hermann wrote τρίπλοιστον, which word does not exist. Böckh (p. 259) happily follows Schneider in deriving the verbal from πολίζω = πολέω, comparing Pindar's use of ἀναπολίζω (Pyth. VI 3) = ἀναπολέω, thus making τριπόλιστος = τριπόλητος. The verbal means, then, 'thrice (= oftentimes) revolved,' 'dreimal gepflügt, immer wiederholt' (Wecklein, Ausgewählte Tragödien des S., 1874): 'dreimal d. h. vielfach immer von neuem durchgesprochen' (Wolff-Bellermann ad loc.); similarly Jebb, Juris, Jasper, Linwood, Campbell. Schol. πολλάκις ἀναπεπολημένον ἢ διάσημον καὶ παν-

ταχοῦ ἀκούμενον καὶ πολούμενον· ἢ τὸν πολλάκις ἐπελθόντα τῷ ἐμῷ οἴκῳ ἢ γένοι. We need not, then, with Hartung reject the word entirely, nor do we follow Donaldson's suggestion (*The New Cratylus*², p. 281): "For the form πολύς admits of an adverb in -ις . . . and perhaps, after all, the difficult word τριπόλιστος in Soph., Antig. 857, may contain a remnant of this other superlative of πολύς." Ant. 848 τυμβόχωστον (ἔρμα). Donaldson (*The New Cratylus*², p. 494) classes this adjective amongst those Karmadhārya in which, exceptionally, the adjective does not precede the substantive, in the compound. 'In tumuli modum congestus' is the meaning of the verbal. Ai. 481 ὑπόβλητον λόγον. O. C. 794 ὑπόβλητον στόμα. Trach. 1052 ὑφαντὸν ἀμφίβληστον. El. 58 φλογιστὸν (δέμας). Fg. 316 χαλκηλάτοις ὄπλοισι. Fg. 347 χαλκηλάτους λέβητας. Ant. 945 χαλκοδέτοις αἰλαῖς. El. 485 χαλκόπλακτος . . . γένυς. Reading and interpretation of this passage have both been matters of lively discussion. Otto Jahn follows the one MS reading, χαλκόπλακτος: Wakefield, Erfurdt and others have resorted to conjectures. We think the case not so hopeless, although the ancients were embarrassed in attempting to explain it. Thus the Scholiast: ἡ χαλκόπλακτος γένυς ἢ ἐλοῦσα αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ τιμωρὸς ἦξει κατὰ τῶν δρασάντων, to which the younger scholiasts are said to have added ἢ ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ ἠλασμένη, σφυρήλατος. The question is whether χαλκόπλακτος can mean χαλκήλατος, for we reject the active explanation of the verbal as being quite out of the question. Kvičala, Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Sophokles, I (1864), p. 34, denies this most decidedly, "denn niemals ward πλήττειν in der Bedeutung 'hämmern, treiben' (für ἐλαύνειν) gebraucht." This proves only that Sophocles has here (as elsewhere countless times) used an old word in a new sense—one of the characteristics of the language of our poet: we therefore accept this explanation of the verbal. Ai. 219 χειροδαίκτη σφάγι'. Schol. θύματα ὑπὸ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ δαΐχθέντα. O. R. 901 χειρόδεικτα (τάδε). Trach. 924 χρυσήλατος . . . περόνις. O. R. 1268 χρυσηλάτους περόνας. El. 837 χρυσοδέτοις ἔρκεσι. The play on the two meanings of ἔρκος, here, has caused the Schol. to give the two explanations of it—'a chain' and 'a trick'—in his long note ad loc. It means both here, the latter as a general form of the former. Fg. 224 χρυσόδετον κέρας. Fg. 1019 χρυσοτεύκτων (θεῶν ἀγάλματ').

VOICE, PASSIVE: TIME, RELATIVELY PRESENT.

It is quite in keeping with the timelessness of the adjective, as such, that these verbals (which, though adjectives, have never lost all of their participial nature) can refer to a contemporaneous (relatively present) act. It is well known that in Latin many of these forms in *-tus* denote relatively present act. The more surprised are we, then, that commentators seem to have almost entirely overlooked this very evident force of the verbals in Greek. M., I, p. 69, cites *two* passages (both from Athenaeus) in which verbals in *-τος* are used with the force of the present passive participle! Of the adjectives which belong here, not a few have been explained *potentially*—the merely passive explanation, be it remarked, is in all such cases both more fitting to the situation than the potential, and also it is more *forcible*, just as 'one who is praised' is more forcible, because saying more, than 'one who may, can, deserves to be praised.' Others have, still less happily, been explained actively. In some cases it is quite unwise to insist on the difference between present completion and present duration—such cases forming the boundary-line between those adjectives of which we have just been speaking and those to which we now turn our attention.

The contemporaneous duration (continued act in relatively present time) is seen most plainly in those 'geographically present' adjectives—for so we may call them—such as 'the *sea-surrounded* isle,' 'an *uninhabited locality*,' etc. Such are partly *simplicia*, partly *syntheta*, partly *parasyntheta*. Of the other cases a few are joined with persons—an innovation, as compared with Aischylos, who never admits this force of the verbals when joined with persons. This liberty is at first used cautiously, and some of the cases hesitatingly put here should, possibly, be otherwise explained. Aischylos used this force of the verbals more freely than Sophocles: in both authors *syntheta* and *parasyntheta* are more frequent than *simplicia*.

a) 'Geographically Present.'

Ai. 1219 ἀλίκλυστον (πρόβλημα). Ai. 597 ἀλίπλακτος εὐδαίμων. The Laurentianus reads ἀλίπλαγκτος, which form Lobeck tells us certain Greek grammarians affirm *can* be used instead of ἀλίπλακτος. And yet we follow the tradition of certain more recent MSS, ἀλίπλακτος 'quod unum verum est' (Moritz, Seyffert, ad loc.)

Ellendt cites a late scholiast: ἀλίπλακτος· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀλίκλυστος· ἀλίπλακτος ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀλιπλάκτως, ἤγουν ἐν θαλάσῃ ἀτακτοῦσῃ περὶ σέ. Trach. 752 ἀμφίκλυστος (ἀκτῇ). Trach. 780 ἀμφίκλυστον . . . πέτραν. Schol. τὴν κλυζομένην. Ai. 134 ἀμφιρύτου Σαλαμῖνος. Phil. 2 ἄστιπτος (ἀκτῇ). V. L. ἄστειπτος. But it is quite out of our power to determine whether—to the Greek ear—the expression meant a shore ‘which *is* never trodden’ or ‘which *has* never yet been trodden,’ and hence the various definitions given in Stephanus. O. C. 28 οἰκητός (sc. τόπος). Phil. 1 περιρρύτου χθονός. Phil. 239 περιρρύτου Σκύρου.

β) Other Examples.

Ant. 881 ἀδάκρυτον (πότμον). The scholiast—whom, unhappily, Bloomfield (Gloss. Aischyl. Prom. 905) follows—is misled by the alpha, which he takes to be an intensivum, translating πολυδάκρυτον; cf. Triclinius, ad loc., Clemm, de alpha intensivo, p. 72 (No. 12), Hermann ad loc. Ai. 407 δίπαλτος (στρατός) ἂν με χειρὶ φονεύοι. Schol. (and similarly Suidas) ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶν οἷον περιδεξίως με φονεύοι· παντὶ σθένει ὡς Δίδυμος· ἢ ὁ στρατός με φονεύοι λαβὼν τὰ δίπαλτα δοράτια ὡς Πιός φησιν: to which Lobeck exclaims “Utinam de difficilioribus locis illorum apposuissent sententias.” Now Eustathius says (p. 674, 14) καὶ παλτὸν εἶδος τι ὄπλου, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ὁ παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ δίπαλτος φονεύς (sic), thus making the word a *possessivum*: similarly Hermann, “δίπαλτος, proprie *duas hastas vibrans*, ἔχων δύο δοῦρε”: followed by Campbell, and similarly Holtze, p. 11. It is not to be denied that, taken as a *possessivum*, the adjective corresponds to the definitions of Pius and Didymus. Ellendt, speaking of these definitions of Pius and Didymus, says “mihi neutrum horum, sed a duobus Atridis *duplex* eorum exercitus dici videtur adsignificato impetu in παλτός, ut δικρατεῖς Ἀτρεΐδαι *duo* sunt, sed *reges* esse adsignificatur.” Again, Schambach, II, p. 14, argues, “Si omnino, quid Graecus poeta a suis popularibus intellegi voluerit, nobis licet coniectura assequi, haec mihi videtur illius locutionis sententia esse: *exercitus duobus ducibus* (Agamemnone et Menelao) *impetum faciens*. Activum πάλλειν pro medio πάλλεσθαι (intransitive) ab Euripide usurpatum esse docet Seidler. ad Eur. El. 433.” Schindler, p. 24, observes “δίπαλτος is est exercitus qui duplicata, h. e. summa vi ‘παντὶ σθένει,’ in Aiace cooritur”: similarly Schmidt, p. 52, note 22. Finally Slameczka, p. 12, classes it amongst those cases “wo das Epitheton aus zwei Teilen besteht, deren erster nicht den zweiten näher bestimmt,

sondern seiner Bedeutung nach für sich zum Substantiv attributivisch hinzutritt." The subject of the verb in the verbal is *στρατός*: this granted, the verbal is *passive*, and we follow Pape, "das doppelt angetriebene Heer, mit Rücksicht auf die beiden Atriden, welche das Heer wie ein Geschoss auf den Aias schleudern": for surely we will not explain it *actively* (!) with Linwood, Wolff and some others; cf. Mehlhorn, *Anac.*, p. 242. Apart from the fact that verbals in *-τος* are *very* rarely used in an active sense, *δίπαλος* is *always*, as it seems, used as a passive. O. R. 864 *εὔσεπτον ἀγνείαν*. Jebb—doing violence to the evident meaning of the passage—makes this the only case in all Greek in which *εὔσεπτος* is used in an *active* sense. O. C. 1235 *κατάμεμπτον . . . πύματον*. O. R. 173 *κλυτὰς χθονός*. With Ritter and Kvičala (*Beiträge*, IV, p. 88), we do not resort to conjectures to take the place of this simple epithet of Boeotia. *κλυτός* is one of those adjectives which stand on the boundary between the mere passivity and the modality, and hence it easily reflects whatever coloring the context may give it. With Buttmann (*Lexilogus*), Brugmann (*Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*, II, p. 208) and others, we accept as the original meaning of *κλυτός* 'einer, von dem viel *gerühmt . . . gehört wird*,' hence merely passive, and indefinitely present. Ai. 177 *κλυτῶν ἐνάρων*. Ai. 375 *κλυτοῖς . . . αἰπολίοις*. Whether the adjective mean 'celebrated' or 'bleating' it is passive. El. 714 *κροτητῶν ἀρμάτων*. Clearly this means 'of rattling wagons' (*κροτέω* = 'to make to rattle'). Fg. 221 *κροτητὰ . . . μέλη*. Enallage for *κροτητῶν πηκτιδῶν μέλη*. El. 1085 *πάγκλαυτον αἶωνα*. O. C. 1440 *προὔπτον Ἀιδην*. El. 49 *τροχηλάτων δίφρων*.

γ) *With Persons.*

Trach. 854 *ἀγακλειτὸν (κέλωρα)*. Reading and sense of the passage are uncertain. We have accepted Dindorf's conjecture, *Ζηνὸς κέλωρ' ἀγακλειτὸν*; L. *ἀγακλειτὸν ἠρυκλέουσ*. O. R. 762 *ἄποπτος (εἶη)*. Lobeck (*Ajax*, vs. 16), Hermann (*Aj.*, vs. 16), Schambach (II, p. 7), Ritter (*ad loc.*) and others have proved that the adjective means 'distant,' i. e. seen afar off. Its time is indefinitely present. Ai. 15 *ἄποπτος ᾗς*. Suidas' *πύρρωθεν δρώμενον* is more accurate than the scholiast's *δώρατος*. El. 1489 *ἄποπτον* (of the speaker himself). O. R. 1345 *καταρατότατον*. The adjective really qualifies the *με* of verse 1340.

ON THE MODALITY OF THE VERBALS.

We now turn to those verbals whose time is future. This seemingly strange use is most easily, though mechanically, explained by *prolepsis*, and it seems originally to have been regularly attended by a negative; cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, p. 207, and *Griech. Gramm.*² (in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*), p. 97. The transition in the meaning of the verbal, from that which *is* to that which *may be*, is very old, as we can trace it back into pre-Hellenic times; but the Greek language developed an especial inclination toward this modal use. The Latin example usually taken is *invictus*, which originally meant nothing more than 'not yet conquered' or (by *prolepsis*) 'so as to be unconquered,' and the transition in meaning from what will remain unconquered to unconquerable is a light one. That the adjective could not, save by *prolepsis*, denote *what WILL not be conquered* does not surprise us, when we remember how closely futurity and modality (potentiality) were connected in the classic languages, especially in Greek. We see, also, how the presence of the negative was particularly favorable to the development of this modality, as introducing a condition which *has never yet entered* or, by *prolepsis*, *so as that it will never enter or have entered*—and hence the inference that it *cannot enter*. But later the negative could be dispensed with, and indeed in Sophocles the number of *composita* with alpha *privativum* is quite below that of other *composita* and *simplicia*, the numbers being something like 40 to 90, of which latter number, however, a negative is more or less closely connected with the verbal in some 20 cases. Already Homer, who uses the verbals also modally, did not confine himself to a use of the adjective with a negative. Cf. Curtius, *Das Verbum*³, II, p. 388. And yet the modal use of the verbals is, as mentioned above, never met with in the Attic inscriptions. One is almost tempted to think this must be a mere chance, the modality being quite usual from the oldest times on. In fact so abundant are examples of this use of the verbal that Kopetsch makes the number of potential verbals in Plato larger than that of merely passive ones (p. 13).

As illustrating the manner in which the modality arose from mere passivity, might be cited the following passages, which thus form the connecting link between those adjectives which were being considered in the last chapter and those to which our attention is now turned.

Ai. 450 ἀδάματος θεά. Schol. παρθένος, ἄζυγος. On the form ἀδάματος vs. ἀδάματος cf. Lobeck ad loc.; Elmsley, O. R. 196; Reisig, O. C. 1564. El. 1239 ἀδμήταν ("Ἀρτεμιν). The reading is uncertain; with Otto Jahn, Schütz and others, we retain the ἀδμήταν of the Laurentianus. O. C. 1321 ἀδμήτης. . . μητρὸς. O. C. 1572 ἀδάματον φύλακα.

Approaching the verbals more closely, we cite M., I, p. 32; here, under the heading 'de significatu potentiali et passivo simplicium et parasynthetorum,' the following law is laid down: "Illis, quae a verbis sub sensus cadentia aut ab iis orta significantibus repetita sunt, potestas passiva, iis autem, quae a verbis animi motus et agitationes exprimentibus sunt derivata, vis potentialis devincta est." On page 65, however, the author is himself compelled to add "inveniuntur utique exempla quoque, quae legibus prorsus sunt contraria, sed haec traducenda sunt ad licentiam libertatemque linguae, unde emanavit notum illud ac tritum: *nulla regula sine exceptione*." Now, to sustain this rule of his, Moissiszig cites some 150 simplicia and 108 parasyntheta, selected from writers in prose and poetry at random, which conform to the law: scarcely 30 adjectives seem to be 'exceptions.'

We object to this method of treating the subject because of its impracticability. It is almost impossible to draw the line, with accuracy, between verbs of the senses and those expressing emotions of the mind, especially when the one class is used metaphorically. Apart from this, how are we to classify forms like διαλυτός as against διάλυτος? Sophocles uses something like 8 parasyntheta, 26 simplicia and 50 syntheta modally: modal simplicia which are evident exceptions to M.'s rule are e. g. θεαρός, ἀκουστός, ἀλωτός, λεκτός, ῥητός, βλέπτός, οἰκητός. Furthermore, are we to believe really, then, that Greek verbs of emotion could never be used as mere passives? Without making a further point of it, then, we do not accept Moissiszig's clever suggestion, preferring to classify the examples of modal verbals according to the *cause*, *occasion* of this modality.

But Moissiszig (I, p. 70 f.) says—speaking de synthetorum potestatibus—that those "a nominibus composita duabus modo insignita sunt significationibus, passiva atque activa, quarum illa est frequentior"; this statement is sustained for Sophocles by the facts of the language. Of those derived from a privativum M. says: "Adiectiva ab hoc particula loquelari ordientia prolixè fluunt . . . significationes utique primariae sunt potentialis et

passiva, quarum usus par est" (but not in Sophocles, where the passives outnumber the thirty-odd cases of modal compounds with *a* priv.) "ita quidem, ut discrimina inveniri prorsus nequeant, quibus eveniat, ut aliquot alterutro, multa autem utroque praedita sint significatu, ut ἄθικτος intactus et intactilis, ἀελπτος insperatus et insperabilis, ἄτρωτος inviolatus et inviolabilis, ἀθαπτος autem ἀκλῆτος passivam, et ἀνήκεστος ἀτλήτος similia potentialem solam nacta sint vim." These statements are, in the main, supported by Sophocles' use of the language. But again: "A particula inseparabili *δυσ* coniugata solam prae se ferunt potestatem potentialem, ut: δυσθέατος, δύσλυντος, δυσίατος et sexcenta eiusdem generis. Duo modo invenimus exempla, quae activo praedita sunt significatu: δυσάλγητος, Soph. O. tyr. 12, qui non facile dolores sentit i. e. durus, torpeus: et δυσβάγκτος, Aesch. Pers. 575, valde lamentans. Significatio horum adiectivorum passiva a linguae indole ac natura prorsus abhorret." But other exceptions to this rule are e. g. δυσθρήνητος, Ant. 1211; δυσούριστος, O. R. 1315; δυσάλγητος, O. R. 12, Fg. 867; δυσπόνητος, O. C. 1613. Finally, "Adiectiva, quorum pars prior particula est *εὔ*, activam, passivam, potentialem nauscuntur intellectum." At first it seems strange that *δυσ*- and *εὔ*-compounds should be so dissimilar; but *εὔ*-compounds in Homer never (except once?) mean 'easy-, easily-, ' but only 'well-, beautifully-, ' the adjective being thus always passive, and K. Grashof (Über das Fuhrwerk, p. 8, note 8) maintains that Homer considers all composita with *εὔ* to be real *syntheta*, not *paratheta*, and hence uses them as adjectives of *two* endings. (This view is opposed by Hentze, Anhang zu Homers Ilias, E, vs. 466.) Kopetsch (p. 10) makes the following statement: "Coniugata autem sunt significationis potentialis adiectiva cum duobus praepositionibus, quae vocantur insuperabiles, alpha privativo et *δυσ*- et cum adverbio *εὔ*, *nunquam cum ullo nomine*." But in Aischylos not a few exceptions to this sweeping assertion have been found: similarly in Sophocles such forms as ἀπόπτυστος, ἐμπληκτος, ἀνασχετός, ἀπόμοτος, ἐξάγιστος, etc.

The verbal adjectives, when modal, vary in meaning all the way from that which is merely *physically* or *naturally* possible—through that which is because of innate higher qualities intentionally so—and through that which poetic exaggeration makes (im)possible—up to that which is *morally* (im)possible, extreme cases of which latter coloring certain ones have thought to be equivalent to the gerundive force of the verbals in -τέος. It is

impossible to decide in each case just where one of these forces merges into the other, but if a scheme of these shades of meaning dare be attempted, it might possibly be not unlike the following:

I. Really, physically (im)possible: α) *by nature or chance*, e. g. ἀναρίθμητος χρόνος. β) *intentionally so*: 'dignus qui,' e. g. ἄτεγκτος . . . φανεῖ.

II. Through *poetic exaggeration* or freedom of speech characterized as (im)possible; e. g. ἀνικήτων ὅπλων.

III. From *modesty, shame* or some *moral consideration* rendered (im)possible; e. g. ἄρρητον ἔπος.

(IV. That which *must* be?).

The ground, then, of this possibility rests on—α) what is *inherent in the nature of the subject* (whether intentionally or unintentionally); β) some *moral consideration*. Hence we distinguish I, the *first modality*, embracing I and II; II, the *second modality*, embracing III and (IV?). Our first modality is far more widely represented than the second, and is more usually connected with things than with persons, some 100 cases occurring with things, against less than 50 with persons. Of the second modality we have only about 20 examples, none of which are used with persons. The majority of these modally-used verbals occur in iambic verses.

EXAMPLES OF THE 'FIRST MODALITY.'

I. *With a priv.* α) *With Persons.*

Ai. 190 ἀσώτου . . . γενεᾶς. The verse is not (as Merkel will have it) corrupt, the subject being easily supplied from the preceding βασιλῆς. Schol. τῆς ἐξώλους καὶ σφύζεσθαι μὴ δυναμένης. O. R. 336 ἄτεγκτος . . . φανεῖ; Schol. ἄτεγκτος δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀσυμπαθῆς καὶ ἀδάκρυτος; similarly Suidas, An. Bekk., p. 458, 11, and p. 218, 22. Ritter maintains that the verse is spurious because it destroys the *stichomythia*, and especially because of the strange use of ἀτελεύτητος. O. R. 792 ἀτλητον (γένος). Schol. τὸ μὴ δυνάμενον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων ὁρᾶσθαι. El. 1388 ἀφυκτοὶ κύνες. With Hermann, Wunder, Nauck and others, we accept the latter explanation of the schol.: ἀς οὐκ ἔστι φυγεῖν.

β) *With Things.*

O. R. 1314 ἀφατον, ἀδάματόν τε (νέφος). V. L. ἀδάμαστον. Schol. ἀφατον, ἀφάτως ἐπεληλυθός . . . ἀδάμαστον δὲ ἀνίατον, ὃ οὐδεὶς

δαμάσαι δυνήσεται ἢ σκληρόν καὶ τραχὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδάμαντος. O. R. 205 ἀδάματ' (βέλεα). Ai. 648 ἄελπτον οὐδέν. Trach. 999 ἀκήλητον . . . ἄνθος. El. 123 ἀκόρεστον οἰμωγὰν. O. C. 1675 ἀλόγιστα παροίσομεν. The exact meaning of the passage is disputed. With Stephanus, Wunder, Nauck, we take the adjective to be modal. El. 230 ἄλυτα (τάδε). Schol. τὸ θρηνεῖν τὸν πατέρα ἄλυτόν μοι ἔσται ὃ ἔστιν οὐδέποτε παύσομαι ἀλλ' αἰὲν ἐν τῷ θρηνεῖν ἔσομαι. Phil. 198 ἀμάχητα βέλη. Ai. 646 κἀναρίθμητος χρόνος. Ai. 714 ἀναύδατον (οὐδέν). ἀναύδατον (later ἀναύδητον), Lobeck; ἀναύδητον, L.; ἀναύδακτον, Hesychius. Ai. 52 ἀνηκέστου χαρᾶς. El. 888 ἀνηκέστῳ πυρί; Bergk, Nauck, Wecklein (Ars Soph. emend., p. 50) conjecture ἀνηφαίστῳ, which we, with Schütz, l. l., p. 304, reject 'aufs entschiedenste.' Curiously enough, Wunder takes the verbal here, and in the passage just discussed, to be either purely passive or even active! Kvičala's position (cf. Beiträge, I, p. 61 f.), that the verbal is merely passive, would be the more inviting, if the *uniform* (modal) usage of the verbal were not against it; cf. M., I, p. 72. Phil. 186 ἀνήκεστα μερμνήματ'. O. R. 98 ἀνήκεστον (μίασμα). El. 1408 ἀνήκουστα (ἤκουσ'). Triclinius ἦτοι ἃ οὐ δύναται τις ἀκοῦειν. El. 166 ἀνήνυτον οἶτον. Campbell's active translation 'accomplishing nothing' is plainly wrong. The verbal is modally passive; cf. Stephanus, 'quae perfici non possunt'; Anec. Bekk., p. 13, 26, ἀνήνυτος πόνος: ὁ πολὺς καὶ ὃν οὐχ οἶόν τε διανύσαι. Suidas: τὸν ἀτελείωτον μόρον, ἢ Ἑλέκτρα φησί. Ant. 781 ἀνέκατε ("Ερως). O. C. 1515 ἀνικήτου (χειρὸς). Phil. 78 ἀνικήτων ὅπλων. Ai. 683 ἄπιστος . . . λιμήν. Ai. 255 ἄπλτος (αἶσ'). The adjective has been derived from πελάζω (Gross, II, p. 12), πελάω (so e. g. Ebeling and Seidler), or even from πλάω (Stephanus). We derive it from πελάω. Trach. 1093 ἄπλτος θρέμμα. Trach. 982 ἄπλετον (βάρος). Construction and punctuation of the words disputed. Contrary to Hermann's conception of the passage, we have taken βάρος as a nominative. But the etymology of the verbal is disputed, and Gross, II, p. 12, does not harmonize with Gross, I, p. 9! We follow Lobeck, Pathologiae Graeci Sermonis Elementa, I, p. 245, who, rejecting other etymologies, argues: "Probabilius Graecus ille, quem testatus sum, ex ἄπλτος factum putat, hoc autem a πλέω impleo derivatum": so Curtius, Et.⁵, p. 277; Clemm, de alpha intensivo, p. 81, No. 28. El. 1336 ἀπλήστον . . . βοῆς. Trach. 1030 ἀποτίβας . . . νόσος. O. C. 489 ἄπυστα φωνῶν. Schol. ἀνήκουστα ἀντὶ ἡρέμα καὶ συντόμως. Ai. 576 ἄρρηκτον σάκος. O. R. 301 ἄρρητα (πάντα). O. R. 464 ἄρρητ' ἄρρήτων. "Das Unaus-

sprechliche des Unaussprechlichen," Ritter. Hermann, Bruck, Wunder, Nauck and others have adduced passages in abundance to defend the above expression. Trach. 961 ἄσπετόν τι θαῦμα. We do not derive the verbal from ἔπομαι, but, with Vaniček (Griechisch-lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, p. 995), Schmidt (Synonymik der griechischen Sprache, I, p. 10), Göbel (Lexilogus, I, pp. 87-88), from the root ΣΠΕ or ΣΕΠ 'to say.' Ai. 222 ἀτλατον (ἀγγελίαν). Ai. 788 ἀτρύτων (κακῶν). Schol. πολυτρύτων, which definition is rightly rejected by Clemm, de alpha intensivo, p. 88, No. 37. Trach. 694 ἄφραστον, ἀξύμβλητον (φάτω). O. C. 1463 ἄφατος (κύπος). Trach. 1057 ἀφράστω . . . πέδη. Schol. ἀπροσδοκῆτω, ἀνευνοήτω ἢ ἀλέκτω· ἢ περὶ ἧς οὐκ ἔχει τις φράσασθαι τίς εἴη τὴν φύσιν: this latter is the preferable explanation. Trach. 265 ἄφυκτ' . . . βέλη. Phil. 105 ἀφύκτους (ιοῦς). Fg. 611 ἄφυκτά τε μήδεα.

II. With δυσ-. a) With Persons.

O. C. 1722 δυσάλωτος οὐδεὶς. Ai. 609 δυσθεράπευτος Αἴας.

β) With Things.

Trach. 959 δυσπαλλάκτοις ὀδύναις. El. 1385 δυσέριστον αἶμα φουσῶν Ἄρης. By a slight *traiectio epitheti* the adjective—really belonging to Ἄρης—is joined with αἶμα; so Juris (p. 11): "Vix aliter explicare licet nisi, qui difficile impugnatur, 'qui est insuperabilis' (sic!): de Marte ad res ab eo gestas transfertur." But simpler is the explanation suggested by Lueck (De comparationum et translationum usu Sophocleo, Pars II, Neumark, 1880, p. 5): "quamquam enim paullo insolentius hoc appositionis genus videtur, tamen haec ratio multo probabilior est quam coniecturae in hunc locum prolatae"—his device consists in simply placing a comma before αἶμα. Ai. 1004 δυσθέατον ὄμμα. Ant. 1284 δυσκάθατος . . . λιμήν. Ant. 1346 δυσκόμιστος (πότμος). Trach. 949 δύσκριτ' (μέλεα). Schol. δυσκατάληπτά ἐστιν ἰσομέγεθα ὄντα. Ai. 40 δυσλόγιστον (τί). Trach. 683 δύσνιπτον . . . γραφήν. O. C. 1687 δύσοιστον . . . τροφάν; Enallage for βίου δυσοίστου κ. τ. λ. Phil. 508 δυσοίστων πόνων. O. C. 1277 δυσπρόσοιστον . . . στόμα. O. C. 286 δυσπρόσοπτον (κάρα). V. L. δυσπρόσωπον. El. 460 δυσπρόσοπτ' ὀνείρατα. Fg. 839 δυσπάλαιστον . . . κακόν. So Nauck, for Stobaios' δυσπελαστον. O. R. 109 δυστέκμαρτον (ἶχνος).

III. *Compounds of εἶ.* a) *With Persons.*

Ai. 704 εὖγνωστος ἐμὸι ξυνεῖη διὰ παντὸς εὐφρων (ὁ Δάλιος). Schol. καὶ συνεῖη μοι εὐφρων, εὖγνωστος, φανερός ὦν καὶ δῆλος ὅτι φιλεῖ με, to which Lobeck thus observes: "Scholiastes Rom. primum et extremum nomen ita connexa censet ut significetur φανερός ὦν ὅτι εὐφρων ἐστὶ *favoris manifestus*; sed non persuadet. Postquam enim Panem praesultatorem invitaverat chorus, nihil magis consentaneum videtur quam ut Apollinis quoque, dei festivissimi, numen praesens ex propinquo venerari gestiat, communi persuasione, deos cultoribus suis φαίνεσθαι ἐναργεῖς." Evidently the adjective is decidedly flat when translated as a mere passive—'well known'! The chorus wishes that the god may appear in body, *so plainly that he can be easily recognized*: the verbal is therefore modal and proleptic.

β) *With Things.*

Ai. 151 εὐπειστα λέγει. La. εὐπειστα altered by another hand into ἐπιστα.

IV. *Remaining Examples.* a) *With Persons.*

O. C. 1383 ἀπόπτυστος (σύ). Ai. 1358 ἐμπληκτοι (φῶτες). Schol. οἱ μὴ ἐμμένοντες τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ ἀρετῇ καὶ φιλίᾳ, ἄφρονες παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ἄλλως: ἐμπληκτοι κούφοι, εὐμετάβλητοι. We accept the latter explanation of the schol. So Lobeck: "Ἐμπληκτος idem valet quod ἄσματος εὐμετάβολος, ut Hesychius et Eustathius, p. 1886, 40, interpretantur." 'Mutabilis,' Schambach (I, p. 43). Ant. 1161 ζηλωτός (Κρέων). Or is the verbal merely passive? "Ut ei invadere potuisses," M., I, p. 44. O. C. 1665 θαυμαστός (τις). Fg. 872 θαυμαστὰ. Ai. 915 θεατός (sc. Αἴας). El. 234 πιστά (μάτηρ). El. 1204 πιστὰς (πρὸς πιστὰς ἐρεῖς). El. 1352 πιστὸν (ὄν). O. R. 385 πιστὸς (Κρέων). O. R. 1118 πιστὸς (ἄλλος). O. C. 334 πιστῷ μόνῳ (οἰκετῶν). O. C. 356 πιστὴ (φύλαξ). O. C. 1322 πιστὸς . . . γόνος. O. C. 1395 πιστοῖσι συμμάχοισιν. Trach. 286 πιστὸς (ἐγὼ). Trach. 541 πιστὸς ('Ηρακλῆς). Phil. 1272 πιστός (of the person addressed). Fg. 303 πιστοὶ με κωχέουσιν. Ai. 1369 χρηστός γ' ἔσει. "Χρηστὸν," defines Kopetsch, p. 21, "dignum, quo utare, h. e. utile vel omnino quod in genere suo est bonum." O. R. 610 χρηστοὺς (κακοὺς) νομίζειν . . . χρηστοὺς κακοὺς. O. C. 1014 χρηστός (ξείνος). O. C. 1430 χρηστοῦ (στρατηλάτου). Ant. 520 χρηστός (ὁ). Ant. 662 χρηστός (ἄνθρωπος). Trach. 452 χρηστός (θέλῃς γενέσθαι). Phil. 437 χρηστοὺς (τούς).

β) *With Things.*

O. R. 1312 ἀκουστὸν (δεινόν). O. R. 111 ἀλωτὸν (τὸ ζητούμενον). "Τὸ ληφθῆναι δυνάμενον," Suidas defines it, citing this passage. O. C. 1652 ἀνασχετοῦ (φόβου). Trach. 721 ἀνασχετόν (ζῆν). Phil. 987 ἀνασχετὰ (ταῦτα). O. R. 429 ἀνεκτὰ (ταῦτα). Ant. 282 ἀνεκτὰ (λέγεις). Ant. 388 ἀπώμοτον (οὐδέν). Schol. ἀπώμοτον ἀντὶ ἀπηγορευμένων καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον· ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐκ ὀφείλει τις ἀπομόσασθαι περὶ τινος ὅτι οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸ πράξειεν. O. R. 1337 βλέπτον ἢ στερεκτόν (τι). O. C. 1526 ἐξάγιστα (ἀ). Schol. καθαρὰ· σημαίνει γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἄγος τοῦτο. οὕτως, ἐξάγιστα ἀντὶ ἀγνὰ καὶ μὴ οἶα τε ῥηθῆναι· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου γὰρ χρῶνται πολλαχοῦ. "Neque vero," argues Hermann, "probari posse puto, quod et scholiastae, et aliis interpretibus placet, ἐξάγιστα esse *valde sancta*, sed est illa vox pariter ut μηδὲ κινεῖται ad λόγῳ referenda: *quae piaculum est nec licet dicere*." The verbal means 'sins,' that is, 'what deserves to be accursed.' O. R. 361 γνωτόν (εἰπεῖν). γνωτόν, Elmsley; γνωστόν, L. If Merkel's reading (especially of the previous verse) is correct, the verbal means 'intelligible.' Fg. 731 διδασκὰ (τὰ μὲν) . . . εὔρετὰ (τὰ δὲ). Trach. 699 εἰκαστόν ὥστε πρίνος ἐκβρώματ'. Phil. 191 θαυμαστόν (οὐδέν). But the verbal can, of course, be merely passive. O. C. 1360 κλαυτὰ δ' ἐστίν. V. L. κλαυστά. The verbal means 'worthy of being wept over,' not what *must* (is *necessary to be*) wept over—in which latter case it would be the only exception in Sophocles to the rule that verbals in -τος do *not* exhibit the signification of 'necessity.' Phil. 633-34 λεκτὰ (πάντα), πάντα δὲ τολμητὰ. O. C. 1036 μεμπτόν (οὐδέν). Phil. 1193 νεμεσητόν . . . θροεῖν. Schol. οὐκ ἔστι, φησί, μεμπτόν τῷ δυστυχοῦντι καὶ παραφθέγγεσθαι. Hesychius' definition of νεμεσητόν is μεμφίμοιρον, καὶ δ' ἂν τις ἐντραπέη. O. C. 97 πιστόν . . . πτερόν. O. C. 626 πιστόν (τὸ σόν). O. C. 1488 πιστόν (τὸ). Trach. 398 πιστόν (τὸ). Phil. 71 πιστή (ὁμιλία). Fg. 601 πιστόν οὐδέν. Phil. 756 ῥητόν (sc. ἐπίσαγμα). Fg. 325 συγγνωστόν εἰπεῖν. Ai. 466 τλητόν (τοῦργον). Ai. 223 φευκτὰν (ἀγγελίαν). Phil. 1154 φοβητὸς (χώρος). This is Hermann's text; οὐκέτι φοβητὸς, L. Ai. 468 χρηστόν (τι). El. 240 χρηστῷ (τῷ). The verbal is neuter, referring to a good *thing*, and the scholiast is wrong in referring it to some imaginary person. El. 972 χρηστὰ (τὰ). Ant. 299 χρηστὰς (φρένας). Ant. 636 χρηστὰς (γνώμας). Trach. 3 χρηστὸς (sc. αἰών). Trach. 231 χρηστὰ . . . ἔπη. Trach. 470 χρηστὰ (λεγούση). Trach. 1136 χρηστὰ μωμένη. Trach. 1137 χρήστ'. Phil. 450 χρηστὰ (τὰ). Phil. 457 χρηστὰ (τὰ). Phil. 476 χρηστόν (τὸ). Phil. 584 χρηστὰ (ἀντιπάσχω). Fg. 85 χρηστόν (ἅπαν τὸ). Some, however, interpret

the verbal as referring to a person; cf. Campbell's note. Fig. 736 χρῆστα (τὰ).

ON THE SECOND MODALITY.

Kopetsch (p. 22) cites only three adjectives in Plato which contain the notion of that which is 'nefas . . . patrare': these are ἀκίνητος, ἀπόρητος, ἄβατος. In Sophocles, as in Aischylos, the number is much larger. The signification of 'necessity,' cf. verbals in -τέος, is nowhere in Sophocles to be met with in verbals in -τος. The very circumstance that Sophocles made freer use of the forms in -τέος explains why he all the more avoided using those in -τος in a sense even approaching that of those in -τέος; compare O. C. 1360, where they are balanced against one another for the sake of greater contrast. The verbals thus used are all either simplicia—not infrequently with a negative—or syntheta. As above stated, this use of the adjectives is seen only when they are joined with names of *things*.

I. *With a priv.*

O. R. 891 ἀθίκτων (τῶν). Schol. ὃ ἐστὶν ὧν οὐ χρὴ ἔχεσθαι. O. R. 897 ἄθικτον . . . ὀμφαλόν. Schol. οὐκέτι ἄπειμι πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸν ἄκρατον καὶ ἀπροσπέλαστον αὐτοῦ νεών. Whether this ὀμφαλός was the temple itself or the white stone is disputed. O. C. 39 ἄθικτος (χώρος). Ant. 1060 ἀκίνητα . . . φράσαι. O. C. 624 ἀκίνητ' ἔπη. Ai. 773 ἄρρητόν τ' ἔπος.

The following three adjectives could very easily be referred to the first modality. Such cases mark the transition from the one modality to the other.

El. 203 ἀρρήτων (δείπνων). Schol. ἃ οὐδὲ ὀνομάσαι καλόν. Ai. 214 ἄρρητον (λόγον). Schol. κακόφημον μηδὲ λέγεσθαι ὀφείλοντα. O. C. 1001 ἄρρητόν τ' ἔπος.

II. *Remaining Examples.*

Trach. 64 διδακτά. Schol. εἰ προσήκει μοι μαθεῖν. Trach. 671 διδακτόν. Schol. εἰ μὴ ἀπόρητον εἶη. O. R. 300 διδακτά τε ἄρρητά τ' κ. τ. λ. O. C. 39 οἰκητός (χώρος). Ant. 874 παραβατόν (κράτος). O. R. 993 ῥητόν; (sc. μάντευμα). O. R. 1289 ῥητά μοι. O. C. 1001 ῥητόν . . . ἔπος.

CHARLES EDWARD BISHOP.

III.—ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE COMMENTARIOLUM PETITIONIS OF QUINTUS CICERO.

The question of the authenticity of the Com. seems first to have been raised by the late Adam Eussner. After giving utterance at various times to doubt concerning its genuineness, he finally set forth his reasons in detail in a dissertation published in 1872.¹ That the question might be raised seems to have already occurred to Bücheler,² on account of the similarity of several passages to fragments of the oration in toga candida. But while granting that they were more than accidental resemblances, he held that they were borrowed from Quintus by his brother in his speech of a few months later. Bücheler also pointed out the general similarity of the Com. to the first letter ad Q. Fratrem, remarking (p. 10) *Marcus par pari quodam modo rettulit missa ad fratrem . . . epistula praeclara I 1.* In addition to the points of resemblance between the oration in tog. cand. and the first letter ad Q. Fratrem, Eussner adduced a number of parallel ideas and expressions from the oration pro Murena, some of which were striking, while others revealed nothing more than the chance occurrence of the same word. Indeed, I have no doubt that by indiscriminate citation of accidental resemblances, which would occur in any two documents treating of a similar subject, he really damaged a pretty good case and withdrew attention from a few striking parallels. Eussner further made many trivial objections, such as the unseemliness of a younger and obscure man like Quintus venturing to give advice to his older brother on a subject in which the experience of the adviser was as nothing to that of the advised, and others of the same sort, which drew down upon him the wrath of R. Y. Tyrrell, in *Hermathena* V (1877), p. 40, who seems to have seen nothing in the dissertation worthy of consideration. A calmer and more sensible rejoinder had already been made by R. Wirz (*Phil. Anzeiger* V (1873), p. 498), and he seems to have successfully answered the chief objections made by

¹ *Commentariolum petitionis examinatum et emendatum.* Würzburg, 1872.

² *Quinti Ciceronis reliquiae recognovit F. Bücheler.* Lips. 1869.

Eussner. Tyrrell again, in the first volume of his edition¹ of Cicero's letters, devotes some space to a refutation of Eussner's arguments, though they seem to have convinced no one of the spuriousness of the work. After this the question was not again raised until the year 1887, when Mommsen, in the long looked-for third volume of his *Staatsrecht*, expressed his belief that the Com. is not from the hand of Quintus Cicero. On page 484 (III), where the terms *ordo equester* and *equites Romani* are under discussion, he says: "In der Regel aber wird *ordo equester*, eben wie *equites Romani*, gesetzt für die Gesamtheit sowohl der das Ritterpferd besitzenden wie auch der zu dessen Besitz befähigten Personen. . . Ein terminologisch fester Gegensatz zwischen den Staatspferdinhabern und den Expectanten hat auch hier sich nicht entwickelt." In a note to this passage he says: "In diesem allgemeinen Sinn wird diese Bezeichnung schon von Cicero ganz gewöhnlich verwendet. Gegensätzlich und also incorrect findet sie sich in der in früher Zeit dem Q. Cicero untergeschobenen Bewerbungsschrift; hier werden die in den *centuriae equitum* stehenden jungen Leute bestimmt durch die *auctoritas* des *ordo equester*, während doch eigentlich jene den *ordo equester* bilden." Compare also page 497, n. 3.² The passage quoted does not, of course, contain all or probably any considerable part of Mommsen's reasons for considering the work spurious, but it is the only utterance so far as I know that he has made on the question. It is not my purpose to discuss the point which Mommsen here raises;³ but since the authority of so great a scholar has arrayed itself against the genuineness of the Com., a reconsideration of the question has seemed to me desirable.

The MSS are practically⁴ unanimous in attributing the work to Quintus Cicero, nor can any important argument for its spuriousness be drawn, I believe, from a consideration of historical facts and conditions as set forth in it.⁵

¹ His answer is substantially the same as his earlier paper on the subject in *Hermathena*.

² On page 114, n. 5, 'Q. Cicero de pet. cons.' is cited with no intimation that it is looked upon as spurious.

³ Cf. Willems, B. Ph. W. 661, 1889.

⁴ The fact that some of the *Lagomarsiniani* attribute it to Marcus Cicero is, of course, of no significance. See Bücheler, ap. crit. p. 25.

⁵ In the case of Q. Gallius (spoken of Com. 19 as already defended by Cicero, while Asconius, p. 78, says that he defended him after the oration in tog. cand.), it is more probable that Asconius is in error, as is assumed by Drumann V, 374 and n. 97, and maintained also by Bücheler ad loc.

The striking contrast, however, between the upright, outspoken and rashly impolitic character¹ of Quintus and the compromising,² or even dishonorable, exhortations of some parts of the Com. has been sufficiently emphasized by Eussner (p. 20).

The dryness of the style of the Com., with its tedious iteration of the same or similar forms of transition, etc., is well set forth and illustrated by Bücheler, p. 7. But of all the rhetorical machinery which it displays, nothing is more tiresome or more characteristic of the pedantic school rhetoric than the wonderful fondness which the author betrays for the *distributio* (to use his own word). Indeed, a careful analysis of the work might almost convince one that it was nothing but an exercise in that subject. He begins by dividing the whole *petitio* into three subjects for Cicero's meditation: novus sum, consulatum peto, Roma est. Let us take for example the second member, *consulatum peto*. This is divided in 16 as follows: *Petitio autem magistratus divisa est in duarum rationum diligentiam, quarum altera in amicorum studiis, altera in populari voluntate ponenda est.* Of this double division, let us again take the second member,—*ratio popularis*: (41) *Dicendum est de illa altera parte petitionis quae in populari ratione versatur. Ea desiderat nomenclationem, blanditiam, assiduitatem, benignitatem, rumorem, spem in republica.* Each one of these six divisions is carried out in detail, with more or less subdivision (e. g. *rumor*, in 50 and 51: *sed—iam—etiam—postremo*). That this minuteness of division and subdivision, which might be equally shown by other examples, is a part of the writer's conscious rhetorical devices, is clear from the following: (49) *ac ne videar aberrasse a distributione mea, qui haec in hac populari parte petitionis disputem, hoc sequor, etc.* That in so much division he sometimes runs short of material will not cause surprise, as for example in 40, where the *rationes et genera obtrectatorum et adversariorum*—who are divided into three classes!—are to be met and won over, in the first class, by *spes—studium—officium*; in the second class by *beneficium—spes—studium*, and

¹On the character of Quintus see the letters ad Q. Fratrem passim; Drumm VI, 719 ff. Cf. ib. 729. "Das Meiste welches Cicero an ihm tadelt, weil es nicht zu den Regeln der Klugheit stimmte, gereicht seiner Gesinnung zur Ehre."

²Com. 5, together with 14, must, in case of publication, which was manifestly contemplated (58), have put an end to friendly relations between Cicero and Pompey. Cf. also the shameless exhortation to mendacity in 46, and to injure the character of his competitors in 52.

in the third class—*eadem ratione qua superiores!* But this is not all. These very resources by which the *rationes obrectatorum* are to be met are identical with the means by which his devoted friends (quos devinctos tenet—20) are to be further cultivated, viz. (21) *beneficio, spe, adiunctione animi ac voluntate (= studio)*. That Quintus was a prolific writer of dramatic poetry, contemplated, at least, an epic poem on the deeds of Caesar, was somewhat of an historian, and could write “in a manner almost Aristophanic,” we learn from his brother’s works; but that he could write in the barren, mechanical manner above illustrated it is difficult to believe, especially in view of the following significant characterization of his literary tastes by his brother: De Orat. II 3. 10 (cited by Drumann): Nec vero te, carissime frater atque optime, rhetoricis nunc quibusdam libris, *quos tu agrestis putas*, insequor ut erudiam—quid enim tua potest oratione aut subtilius aut ornatius esse? We find, therefore, between the style of the Com. and the literary activity and tastes of Quintus, as his brother reports them, a contrast not less striking than the contrast between his character as portrayed to us by other sources and as revealed in this work.

But such considerations can do nothing more than arouse suspicion; in themselves they prove nothing. There remain, however, two points of view from which the subject may be discussed: (1) the language of the Com. in its relation to the history of Latin words and constructions, and (2) resemblances to other (later) works of Latin literature. The first of these contains material for an interesting study in itself; but, as bearing upon the question of authenticity, nothing of much significance can be drawn from it. It may be observed, however, that the word *fabula* (54), in the sense of “talk of the town,” is met with here for the first time, if we may trust the dictionaries, which cite Hor.¹ Ep. 11. 8 as the earliest example. Cicero uses *fama*, as in pro Caelio 16. 38, or *sermo* (*sermones*) or *sermunculi*. It is also worthy of note that *nedum* after a positive sentence is first found in Com. 21: *Minimis beneficiis homines adducuntur ut satis causae putent esse ad studium suffragationis, nedum i quibus saluti fuisti . . . non intellegant etc.* In Cicero and all other writers before Livy *nedum* only follows a negative. Cf. Draeger, Syntax und Stil d. Tacitus, p. 80, and Schmalz in Müller’s Handbuch, II², p. 510.

¹ See p. 210, citation from Horace and note.

It remains, therefore, for us to consider the resemblances between the Com. and other works of Roman literature. Bücheler has done this for the fragments of the oration in tog. cand., and concludes that in two places Cicero borrowed consciously from the recent letter of his brother—(1) in speaking of the incest of Catiline and the Vestal Fabia,¹ and (2) in using the phrase *duas in rem publicam sicas destringere*.² The former, a guarded utterance on a delicate subject, since Fabia was a sister of Terentia; the latter, a striking phrase which might easily have been remembered and reproduced almost unconsciously.³ Two other passages are quoted by Bücheler from the oration in tog. cand. and compared with the Com.

Of Antonius we read:

Com. 8: vocem audivimus	Asc., p. 74: in sua civitate
iurantis se Romae iudicio aequo	cum peregrino negavit se iudi-
cum homine Graeco certare non	cio aequo certare posse.
posse.	

With reference to the murder of Marius Gratidianus, a near relative of the Ciceros, by Catiline:

Com. 10: Quid ego nunc di-	Asc., p. 78: Populum vero,
cam petere eum consulatum, qui	cum inspectante populo collum
hominem carissimum populo	secuit hominis maxime popularis
Romano Marcum Marium in-	quanti faceret, ostendit. P. 80:
spectante populo Romano . . .	caput etiam tum plenum animae
ceciderit, . . . vivo stanti collum	et spiritus ad Syllam manibus
gladio secuierit, caput sua manu	ipse suis detulit.
tulerit. ⁴	

¹ Ascon. (Kiessl. et Schöll), p. 82: cum ita vixisti ut non esset locus tam sanctus quo non adventus tuus etiam cum culpa nulla subesset, crimen afferret (from Com. 10).

² Ascon., p. 83, from Com. 12. It is noteworthy that the phrase seems to have occurred in both places in the same connection, for Ascon. says l. l. dicit de malis civibus, and the Com. has quis . . . tam improbus civis qui velit . . . duas in r. p. sicas destringere.

³ It should be observed that this is the only remarkable metaphorical phrase in the whole work. There are but three others! Bücheler, p. 8.

⁴ The treatment of this case in the Com. is peculiar in that no allusion is made to the intimate relationship existing between Gratidianus and the Ciceros (Asc., p. 75: fuerat hic Gratidianus arcta necessitudine Ciceroni coniunctus). His name is introduced in a rhetorical style natural enough in a public speech, but really very surprising in a letter to a brother. Indeed, the whole of this part of the Com. is written in a strained oratorical tone, which is easily explained if it had the fierce invective of Cicero for its source.

Of these two passages and other similarities between the two works, Bücheler says: "et haec quidem aliaque de Antonii praediis proscriptis, de Catilinae stupris, de Africa provincia, de testium dictis ac iudicio etiamsi pariter uterque vel tractavit vel elocutus est, tamen quod temporum rerumque aut necessitate id factum est aut opportunitate, mutuatum esse alterum non liquet." The extent of the resemblances in subject-matter is here indicated by Bücheler, but it can only be fully realized by a comparison, sentence for sentence, of the description of the characters of Catiline and Antonius (Com. 8-13) with the fragments of the oration in tog. cand. It will be found that scarcely half a dozen statements concerning them in the Com. are not also made or clearly implied in the speech.¹ The verbal resemblances were perhaps exhausted by the quotations of Bücheler, but I would call attention to the following sentences, which betray a remarkable similarity of structure as well as of subject-matter:

Com. 10: Quid ego nunc de Africa, quid de testium dictis scribam? Asc., p. 77: Quid ego ut violaveris provinciam praedicem?

The oration for Murena is the next work of Cicero in which resemblances of thought and language to the Com. appear, and among many more than doubtful examples of such likeness which Eussner quotes, the following are really remarkable:

Com. 56: atque haec ita nolo te illis proponere ut videre accusationem meditari, sed ut hoc terrore facilius hoc ipsum quod agis consequare. Mur. 43: primum accusandi terrores et minae . . . et populi opinionem a spe adipiscendi avertunt et amicorum studia debilitant. nescio quo pacto hoc fit, . . . simul atque candidatus accusationem meditari visus est, ut honorem desperasse videatur.

This passage from the pro Murena has a further significance not noticed by Eussner. For the words *populi opinionem . . . et ami-*

¹ In the enumeration of those whom Catiline had put to death at the command of Sulla, the names of Titinius, Manlius (conj. Bücheler) and Tanusius are given in Com. 9. Asconius, p. 75, says: Catilinam cum in Syllanis partibus fuisset, crudeliter fecisse. Nominatim etiam postea Cicero dicit quos occiderit, Q. Caecilium (Com. 9), M. Volumnium, L. Tanusium. The fact that the names Titinius and Manlius are not here given by Asconius, and hence were not probably in the oration in tog. cand., points to the independence of the two documents, and might therefore be used as an argument for the genuineness of the Com.

corum studia make just such a division of the constituency of a candidate as is set forth and carried out with much detail in the second part of the Com. (16): *Petitio autem magistratus divisa est in duarum rationum diligentiam, quarum altera in amicorum studiis, altera in populi voluntate ponenda est.*

Com. 34: *et quoniam asseclationis mentio facta est, id quoque curandum est, ut cotidiana cuiusque generis et ordinis et aetatis utare. nam ex ea ipsa copia coniectura fieri poterit quantum sis in ipso campo virium ac facultatis habiturus.*

Mur. 44: *petitorem ego, praesertim consulatus, magna spe, magno animo, magnis copiis, et in forum et in campum deduci volo . . . praesertim cum . . . ex vultu candidatorum coniecturam faciant, quantum quisque animi et facultatis habere videatur.*

Of the other resemblances which Eussner cites, that between Com. 37 and Mur. 70 is quite striking; while Com. 21, Mur. 71; Com. 28, Mur. 77 are worthy of note. Observe also the following examples which Eussner seems to have overlooked. Speaking of the value to a candidate of presence in Rome (*assiduitas*), Cicero says:

Mur. 21: *primum ista nostra assiduitas . . . nescis quantum adferat hominibus fastidii. mihi quidem vehementer expedit positam in oculis esse gratiam.*

Com. 43: *iam assiduitatis nullum est praeceptum, verbum ipsum docet quae res sit. prodest quidem vehementer nusquam discedere.*¹

And of the morning *salutatio*:

Mur. 44: *placet mihi . . . persalutatio, praesertim cum iam hoc novo more omnes fere domos omnium concurrunt.*

Com. 35: *in saluatoribus qui magis vulgares sunt et hac consuetudine quae nunc est pluris*²*veniunt.*

There is, further, an astonishingly large number of small verbal

¹ With this compare also pro Plancio 67: (Plancius) *numquam ex urbe afuit nisi sorte, lege, necessitate . . . valuit assiduitate.* The oration pro Plancio presents a good many interesting resemblances to parts of the Com., but none are so striking as those from the pro Murena. E. g. 67: (Plancius) *ea est usus ratione vitae qua minima invidia novi homines plurimi sunt eosdem honores consecuti.* Com. 14: *Iam in populo quam multi invidi sint, quam consuetudine horum annorum ab hominibus novis alienati, venire tibi in mentem scio.*

² The obscurity of this awkward paraphrase has caused *pluris* (preserved by the Erfurtensis and a few other MSS) to be changed in almost all MSS and editions to *plures*. The reading of the Erfurtensis is completely confirmed by the above comparison, showing that *quae nunc est pluris* [quam erat apud antiquos] = *nova*.

resemblances between the Com. and the oration pro Murena, which are of no significance in attempting to prove that it is one of the sources of the Com., though, if that were established by other considerations, they might fairly be adduced as confirmatory evidence. As stated above, many of Eussner's examples are of this kind. Here is one not given by him:

Com. 1: mihi . . . dies ac noctes de tua petitione cogitanti. Mur. 78: consulem . . . dies atque noctes de re publica cogitantem.

Not only the generic resemblance of the Com. to the first letter of Marcus ad Q. Fratrem has been pointed out by Bücheler,¹ but also the close relationship between certain parts of the two, e. g.:

Com. 39: Non est huius temporis perpetua illa de hoc genere disputatio, quibus rebus benivolus et simulator diiudicari possit. Ad Q. Fr. I 1. 37: non suscipiam ut quae de iracundia dici solent a doctissimis hominibus ea nunc tibi exponam.

Eussner pointed out many other cases of resemblance, but here also he erred in giving much which proves nothing except that both works are written in Latin. Several of his examples are, however, noteworthy, as, for instance, the opening of the two letters:

Com.: Etsi tibi omnia suppetant . . . tamen sum arbitratus. Ad Q. Fr. I 1: Etsi² non dubitabam . . . tamen existimavi.

Com. 1: ad te perscribere . . . non ut aliquid ex his novi addisceres. Ad Q. Fr. I 1. 36: at ea quidem . . . non ut te instituerem scripsi.

Worthy of comparison are also Com. 58 and ad Q. Fr. I 1. 18. To these I would add:

Com. 54: Roma est . . . in qua multae insidiae, multa fallacia, multa in omni genere vitia versantur, multorum adrogantia, etc. Ad Q. Fr. I 1. 22: Romae est, ubi tanta adrogantia est, tam immoderata libertas, tam infinita licentia, etc.³

Bücheler, while thinking it possible that Quintus may have made use of Greek sources in parts of the Com., "velut de ami-

¹ Introd., p. 10; ad loc., p. 51.

² The formula *etsi—tamen* is exceedingly common, however, at the beginning of letters.

³ The occurrence of *adrogantia* in both passages is, of course, of much less significance than the similar structure of the two sentences upon the same subject.

corum atque adversariorum generibus,"¹ notes that there are but few traces of Greek in the work, as would be natural enough "cum totum commentariolum ex vita Romana sumptum Romanoque negotio aptatum sit." The examples he cites are the verse of Epicharmus in 39—*nervos atque artus esse sapientiae non temere credere*—and the admonition in 2 to call to mind often what Demetrius had written *de Demosthenis studio et exercitatione*. He suggests, further, that the *disputatio, quibus rebus benivulus et simulator diiudicari possit*, alluded to in 39, refers to some Greek treatise on this subject, such as the one preserved in the *Moralia* of Plutarch.² Of these examples it is to be observed that the verse of Epicharmus is given in the original by Cicero in a letter to Atticus,³ while Demetrius' life⁴ of Demosthenes is spoken of in the *de Divinatione*.⁵ For the *disputatio quibus*, etc., it is not necessary, of course, to assume a Greek source, for this theme was a very common rhetorical exercise, as appears from numerous references to it elsewhere. E. g. Cicero, *Topica* 85: *ex altero autem genere, quod erat bipertitum, unum est de eodem et alio: quid intersit inter amicum et adsentatorem, regem et tyrannum*. Cf. also Cic. *Lael.* 95, and Horace, *A. P.* 425. To these traces of Greek pointed out by Bücheler should be added *Com.* 55: *Et quoniam in hoc vel maxime est vitiosa civitas, quod largitione interposita virtutis ac dignitatis oblivisci solet, in hoc fac ut te benenoris, id est ut intelligas eum esse te qui iudicii ac periculi metum maximum competitoribus afferre possis*. That *te benenoris* = *γνώθι σεαυτόν* no one, I think, will doubt, nor that the triteness of the saying is at once indicated and apologized for by the particular application given it in the words following. The same phrase with

¹ P. 7. In that connection he calls attention to the fact that, according to *ad Att.* II 3. 3, Quintus had in his library a work of Theophrastus, *περὶ φιλοτιμίας*.

² Plut. *Mor.* 49: *πῶς ἂν τις διακρίνοι τὸν κόλακα τοῦ φίλου*.

³ *Att.* I 19. 8: *νόφε καὶ μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν, ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν*. Cf. also *Att.* II 20. 1.

⁴ So Bücheler *ad loc.*, but on what authority I do not know. No life of Demosthenes is contained in the catalogue of the works of Demetrius in *Diog. Laert.* V 5. 80. All that is given in the *de Div.* might have been contained in the *περὶ ῥητορικῆς* or the *περὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων* of Demetrius.

⁵ *Div.* II 96: *Multi etiam naturae vitium meditatione atque exercitatione sustulerunt, ut Demosthenem scribit Phalereus, cum RHO dicere nequiret, exercitatione fecisse ut planissime diceret*. It may not be without significance that the *exercitatio Demosthenis* is here emphasized as in the *Com.*

a particular application similar to this is found ad Q. Fratrem, III 6. 7: Cessator esse noli et illud γνῶθι σεαυτόν noli putare ad adrogantiam minuendam solum esse dictum, verum etiam ut bona nostra norimus. In both cases γνῶθι σεαυτόν is made the text for admonition to know one's own gifts and use them.

Somewhat analogous to this is the following. In Com. 9 we read: quod Antonius umbram suam metuit, hic (Catilina) ne leges quidem. The phrase *umbram suam metuere* is natural enough, and we are not surprised to find it in Latin; yet that it occurs elsewhere I have not been able to discover. The only thing like it that I have found is the following in ad Att. XV 20. 4: equidem etsi mihi videtur iste, *qui umbras timet*, ad caedem spectare, tamen nisi explicata solutione non sum discessurus. It would be rash to affirm that there is any connection between these two (apparently isolated) occurrences of similar phrases, but it stimulates one's curiosity to learn that *iste, qui umbras timet* is Antonius here also—nephew of the Antonius of the Com. and triumvir. Were the Com. a forgery of later date than the letter of Cicero, it would not be difficult to believe that the phrase there used of Mark Antony had been applied to the competitor of Cicero of the same name.

The same section (9) presents perhaps a similar case. The author of the Com. says of Catiline that he was *educatus in sororis stupris*: where it is uncertain whether he charges Catiline with incest or whether he refers to "stupra quae Sergia fecit cum aliis" (Bücheler). The former is the more natural interpretation, and undoubtedly the meaning which the author meant to convey,¹ although Bücheler, in the absence of any other evidence to this charge, chooses the latter. However that may be, a comparison with the description of the early career and incest of Clodius in the oration de haruspicum responso would suggest the thought that we have what is there said of Clodius applied here to Catiline.

Com. 9: alter vero, dii boni, De har. resp. 42: hic vero,
quo splendore est? . . . natus . . . pro di immortales, quid est?
in patris egestate, educatus in . . . qui post patris mortem . . .
sororis stupris, corroboratus in in domesticis est germanitatis

¹ Drumann, V 387, n. 66: "Educatus in sororis stupris; zweideutig und gesucht; man kann erklären, der Bruder buhlte mit der Schwester, aber auch er war Zeuge ihres unsittlichen Lebens, und wurde dadurch verdorben. Der Vf. will ihn anklagen, *nicht entschuldigen*, und dachte daher ohne Zweifel an das Erste; Andere und selbst Cicero schweigen von dieser Blutschande."

caede civium, cuius primus ad rem publicam aditus equitibus Romanis occidendis fuit.

stupris volutatus; deinde robustus . . . se rei militari dedit . . . pupillos necavit . . . divisores macta(vit). exorta est . . . quaestura. Atque hic . . . P. Clodio gradus ad rem publicam, hic primus est aditus ad popularem iactationem.

The resemblances to the Com. thus far cited have been taken exclusively from works of Cicero, later, by intervals varying from a few months to ten years, than the assumed date of the work. In all of these passages, the possibility that the orator borrowed from the letter of his brother or retained in memory for a long time and so unconsciously reproduced his words and thoughts, may be admitted, though the probability of its occurring so often and at such intervals of time is certainly to be denied. But the case would manifestly be very different if resemblances to other writers should be shown; though if the work could have furnished Cicero with so many of his ideas and expressions, there is perhaps no absolute barrier (unless chronological) to extending its influence to other writers. Compare the following passages:

Com. 54: video esse magni consilii atque artis in tot hominum cuiusque modi vitiis tantisque versantem vitare offensio-nem, vitare fabulam, vitare insidias.

Hor. Sat. I 3. 58 ff.: [Bene sanus ac non incautus (61)] hic fugit omnis|| insidias nullique malo latus obdit¹ apertum,|| cum genus hoc inter vitae versetur, ubi acris|| invidia. atque vigent ubi crimina.

Whether the resemblance here is sufficient to consider one the source of the other may perhaps be doubted; but this at least is certain, that if there is any direct relation, it can only be one of imitation and paraphrase of the words of Horace on the part of the author of the Com., and that seems to me very credible. The other alternative, aside from the *a priori* improbability of Horace's resorting to so barren a work as the Com. for material, meets with the chronological difficulty that we thereby assume imitation of a

¹ How accurately the meaning of the words *nullique malo latus obdit apertum* is expressed by *vitare fabulam* is well shown by the Schol. Cruq. ad loc.: *nulli dat sese irridendum idque agit ne lingua malevola laceretur.*

work which, even if genuine, was not, in all probability, published at the time of the writing and publication of this satire.¹

The same chronological considerations apply to the relation between the following passages:

Com. 45: *illud difficilium (est) . . . quod facere non possis, ut id iucunde neget . . . Cum id petitur quod . . . promittere non possumus . . . belle negandum est . . .* Audivi hoc dicere quendam de quibusdam oratoribus ad quos causam suam detulisset, *gratiorem sibi orationem* eius fuisse qui negasset, quam illius qui recepisset.

With this compare Publilius Syrus,² *Sententiae* 357 (Ribbeck):

pars benefici est quod petitur si belle neget.

It seems to me that there can be no doubt that the passage of the Com. quoted presents an elaborate paraphrase of the *sententia* of Publilius, in which the original saying is cloaked at first under the form *iucunde neget*, but betrayed a moment later by *belle negandum*; while it will not escape notice that *pars benefici* of Publilius is paraphrased by *gratiorem sibi orationem*, etc. Here, then, the Com. presents perhaps the most direct relation to other literature that we have observed, with the exception of the oration in *tog. cand.*, and we need not therefore hesitate longer to pronounce the conclusion to which the rest of our investigation has led us, viz. that the Com. is the work of some first-century rhetorician or rhetorical student who, perhaps in imitation of similar works,³ wrote the Com. in the name of Quintus Cicero, and, modelling the general form of his composition on the first letter ad Q. Fratrem (on the duties of a

¹ According to the usual view (e. g. Tyrrell), the letters ad Q. Fratrem, to which there is every reason to believe the Com. would have been appended (Bücheler, p. 11), were published along with the letters to Atticus, after the death of the latter (32 B. C.). Gurlitt (de M. Ciceronis epistulis, etc., Gött. 1879) holds (p. 47) that they were a part of a single collection, including all the extant letters except the letters ad Att., and that this original collection was not published before the death of Antonius, but at some time in the decade following Actium. Hor. Sat., bk. I, not later than 35 B. C.

² To be sure we do not know how long the activity of Publilius continued, but Jerome puts his *floruit* in the year 43 B. C., and we may well doubt whether he was writing still at the time of the publication of the letters ad Q. Fratrem.

³ See Bücheler, p. 6, Aul. Gel. XIV 7. 2: (consulatum) Pompeius cum initurus foret, quoniam per militiae tempora senatus habendi consulendique, rerum expers urbanarum fuit, M. Varronem, familiarem suum rogavit ut commentarium faceret *εἰσαγωγικόν*—sic enim Varro ipse appellat—ex quo disceret, quid facere dicereque deberet, cum senatum consuleret.

provincial governor, etc.), made use especially of the orations of the period of Cicero's consulship bearing upon the subject, viz. the orations in tog. cand. and pro Murena, and incidentally also of other works of Cicero, as has been pointed out. This will explain adequately the historical correctness and faithfulness of his descriptions, and in a measure also the purity of the style and vocabulary. That he should have betrayed familiarity with a well-known passage of Horace or a saying of Publilius is by no means surprising, for, as is well known, much spurious literature owes its origin to no intentional deceit,¹ and no special pains were therefore used to avoid anachronism in the use of sources. How early the *Sententiae* of Publilius had gained currency apart from his plays, and how familiar they were to the young men of Rome, is well shown by Seneca Rhet. contr. VII 18. 8: *Memini Moschum, cum loqueretur de hoc genere sententiarum, quo infecta iam erant adolescentulorum omnium ingenia, queri de Publilio, quasi ille [iam] hanc insaniam introduxisset.*

Concerning the date of the composition of the Com., we can only say that its language and style admonish us to put it as early as possible. If we may assume that the letters to Atticus were already published² at the beginning of our era, I should not wish to place the Com. very much later.

MADISON, WIS.

GEORGE L. HENDRICKSON.

¹ Blass in Müller's Handbuch, I, p. 246.

² Bücheler, Rhein. Mus. 34 (1879), p. 353, notes that Asconius (p. 76) does not make use of a passage from a letter to Atticus (I 2. 1) supporting a point which he is attempting to prove, and concludes from this that the letters were not then published (ca. 55 A. D.). The evidence, however, scarcely seems sufficient for a conclusion so hard to believe (cf. Hofmann, *Ausgew. Briefe*, p. 13).

IV.—POLLICE VERSO.

Some of the most disputed questions concerning the *missio* of the Roman gladiator have to do with the interpretation of certain vexed phrases. Especially to be mentioned are *pollicem vertere*, *pollicem convertere*, *pollicem premere* and *pollex infestus*. How radically our modern authorities differ as to the meaning of these terms is evident from the variety of opinions entertained as to the response made to the vanquished gladiator begging for his life. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, 3d edition, vol. I, p. 917: "His [the gladiator's] fate depended upon the people, who turned up their thumbs if they wished him to be killed. . . . There is no clear evidence that the wish that mercy should be shown was expressed by pressing down the thumbs: this was indicated rather by waving handkerchiefs." Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums, u. s. w., p. 2101: "Das Volk gewährte die Begnadigung oder Entlassung (*missio*) durch Schwenken von Tüchern, oder durch einen Gestus des Daumens (*presso pollice*), stimmte für Tod durch Wenden des Daumens nach unten (*verso pollice*)." Friedländer, Sittengeschichte Roms, 5th edit., vol. II, p. 345: "Von Seiten der Zuschauer war das Zeichen der Gewährung, wie es scheint, das Schwenken von Tüchern;¹ das Wenden des Daumens nach unten bedeutete den Befehl zur Ertheilung des Todesstosses." Guhl and Koner, Life of the Greeks and Romans described from Antique Monuments; translated from the 3d German edition (p. 560): "In case the spectators lifted their clenched fists (*verso pollice*), the fight had to be continued; the waving of handkerchiefs was the sign of mercy granted." Falke, Greece and Rome: their Life and Art, N. Y., 1882; translated from the German edition (p. 289): "It stood in the pleasure of the people to grant them their lives, but usually they gave the sign of death by stretching out the hands with extended thumbs." Dyer, Pompeii, 3d edit., N. Y., 1871 (p. 228): "This signal was the turning down the thumbs," Dyer naively adding, "as is well known." O. Seyffert, Dictionary of

¹ In a footnote F. adds: "Vielleicht auch das Aufheben eines Fingers."

Classical Antiquities, etc.; transl. from the German; revised and edited by Nettleship and Sandys; London, 1891: "The sign of mercy (*missio*) was the waving of handkerchiefs: the clenched fist and downward thumb indicated that the combat was to be fought out till death" (p. 254).

Nor are the lexicographers more satisfactory. Lewis and Short (under *pollex*): "To close down the thumb (*premere*) was a sign of approbation; to extend it (*vertere, convertere, pollex infestus*), a sign of disapprobation." Georges, Ausführliches lateinisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch (7th edit.), under *pollex*: "Der Daumen, *infestus*, der gerade hingestreckte, als ob man Einen damit erstechen wollte: *pollicem premere*, den Daumen einschlagen: *pollicem vertere*, den Daumen gegen die Brust richten (ein Zeichen, dass das Volk einen besiegten Gladiator getödtet wissen wollte)." Forcellini (De Vit.), under *pollex*: "In pollice erat favoris, studiique significatio, nam faventes premebant, aversantes improbant, vertebant retro et subrigebant."

In this mass of contradictory statements what are the ascertainable facts? Of what character was the response made to the appeal of the man who was *hors de combat*? What is the real meaning of the Latin terms used? Manifestly, any sure ground of belief must be sought in ancient authorities, literary and artistic, aided by auxiliary study of the general use of the words employed in describing the response made to the wounded gladiator.

We have seen that there is a large amount of disagreement and contradiction among scholars concerning several important terms and facts, so much so that there is reason for a new examination of the data and sources of our knowledge. What was the sign for *missio*? What the sign for death?

There is no doubt that *pollicem vertere* or *convertere* (lit. 'to turn the thumb') was the sign for death made in answer to the appeal for mercy. This is clear from Juvenal 3. 34-37, and from a passage in Prudentius Clemens, contra Symmachum 2. 1096: "et quoties victor ferrum iugulo inserit, illa delicias ait esse suas, pectusque iacentis virgo modesta iubet converso pollice rumpi." But this does not touch the question as to what this sign, or turn of the thumb, was. Most of the modern authorities, including the commentators on Juvenal 3. 36, tell us in an *ex cathedra* way that the spectator turned his thumb towards his own throat, or breast, as a sign that the victorious gladiator should dispatch his conquered antagonist. I have come to believe that there is small

ground for this interpretation, and that, if not altogether impossible, it is very doubtful.

Let us examine more closely the Latin terms in dispute, hoping thereby to ascertain something as to the true signification of the phrases in question. The word *vertere* seems literally = 'turn, turn about, turn around.' Forcell. says: "*Verito* proprie ut in aliam partem converto, torqueo." If *pollicem vertere* = 'to turn the thumb *upwards*,' one is moved to inquire why we have no modifying adverb to define more accurately the direction. In case *p. vertere* = 'to turn the thumb *downwards*,' is there any reason why the adverb can be dispensed with? An examination of the use of *vertere* shows that it = 'to turn *from the normal or existing position*.' E. g. *terga vertere, se vertere* ('wheel about'), *vertere solum bidentibus*, or *terram aratro vertere* = *arare*. So *vertere* = *evertere* 'overthrow, subdue,' etc. *Pollicem vertere* ought to be such a turn of the thumb as will throw it into a position different from the normal position. The natural position of the thumb, when the sitting spectator extends his hand, if not turned slightly upward, is stretched out towards, or in a line with, the fingers. Again, it is very evident that the thumb in this hostile gesture must have been somehow so pointed as to indicate the hostile or adverse feelings of the spectators.¹ It stands to reason that the position of the thumb must have been so different from the normal position as to preclude any mistaken interpretation; that is, it must clearly indicate the will of the spectators as against any other gesture of the thumb declaring for *missio*. That there was a disposition to grant the *missio* to a gladiator who had fought bravely, we would infer from the fact that great gladiators were public favorites, like actors and the jockeys of the circus, and even the fallen gladiator would be apt to have many friends among the spectators, who would be glad to have him spared.

¹ There seems to be little reason to doubt that, in republican times, the decision lay sometimes, if not always, with the *editor muneris*. Even during the empire, after the decision for life or death was tacitly referred by the *editor* to the crowd, it is likely that he, taking his cue from the crowd, gave the signal to the victorious gladiator. Cf. Martial 3. 99; Juvenal 3. 34-37; Horace, Epist. 1. 1. 4-6; Seneca, Epist. 117. 7 and 37. 2. In the case of the games given by the emperor, it is likely that, as *editor muneris*, he reserved the right to decide the question of *missio*. In a *munus* of this sort it would appear that the people were not expected to indicate directly, but indirectly, their preference. Cf. Mart. Lib. spect. 29.

That the *missio* was frequently given is clear enough from inscriptions, e. g. Orelli-Henzen 2571 = Wilm. 2615:

FLAMMA · SEC · VIX · ANN. XXX
 PVGNAT XXXIII · VICIT · XXI
 STANS¹ VIII · MIS² · III NAT · SRVS³
 HVI⁴ DELICATVS COARMIO FECIT

The gesture for *missio* must have been of such a character as to render easy distinction between it and the normal position of the thumb, as well as between it and the sign for death. The Flavian amphitheatre especially was such an immense structure that a gesture of the hand, as seen by gladiators in the arena, could not be distinguished at all, except when made in a very characteristic way, or except as made by the spectators in the front rows. Where the combatants fought near the emperor's box and looked to him for judgment, the case would be simpler; but where the *editor muneris*, looking to the gestures of the spectators for his direction (who might by no means be agreed in their opinion), or where the conquering gladiator looked directly to the spectators for his command, there must be no room for uncertainty of meaning because of failure to see the gestures actually made. It seems probable—almost certain—that the separate thumb and fingers of the outstretched hand of the majority of sitting spectators could not have been distinguished at all, thereby necessitating such a turn of the whole hand as to make clear the position of the thumb *as seen from below* by gladiator or *editor muneris*. This affords a presumption in favor of such a turn of both wrist and hand as to direct the thumb *downwards*, pointing to the fallen gladiator, as much as to say, "There he is! finish your work, gladiator, by plunging your sword into his breast or throat." In a place so vast, where the individual in the arena appears so diminutive as seen from the tiers of seats, and where the gesture of the individual spectator lost in the mass would be even harder to see clearly by the gladiator, the motion necessary to point the thumb towards the breast of the spectator is so slight, necessitating but a very little turn of the wrist, that it is hard to see how it could have served the end desired. Besides, as seen *from below*, the thumb, pointed towards the breast of the spectator would to the watching gladiator have been in many cases wholly hid behind the rest of

¹ Vid. P. J. Meier, De gladiatura Romana, Bonn, 1881, p. 46 sqq.

² Missus.

³ Syrus.

⁴ Huic.

the hand. Furthermore, is it likely, reasoning *a priori*, that the Roman, superstitious in a high degree; who, while he could look with pleasure on the death of poor wretches in the arena, so much dreaded to think of his own,¹ would have used a gesture so realistic as to point at his own throat? Would not the pantomimic pointing of the thumb of the spectator at his own throat or breast seem to look—and absurdly—rather to the self-slaughter of the victor than to the killing of the fallen gladiator? Slight as this presumption may appear to be, I believe that in dealing with sign-language of this character we cannot afford to ignore it. In the above argument it is taken for granted that the *pollex* symbolizes the Roman sword, comparatively short and thick.²

It is possible, too, although hardly likely in the case of a people so practical as the Romans, that just as they used the middle finger (*digitus medius*), the so-called 'finger of scorn,' with which to make an insulting gesture, so the downward turn of the thumb may = *ad inferos*, i. e. 'to the lower world with him! death to him!'

Again, the word *convertere* was used interchangeably with *vertere* in the phrase *pollicem convertere*. *Convertere* is used not simply for *vertere*, as it undeniably is in many cases, but it is apt to point to the *terminus in quem*. Cf. *naves in eam partem c.*, *ora ad aliquem c.*, *ferrum in aliquem c.* In the case of the gladiatorial *pollicem convertere*, the real *terminus in quem* would seem not to be the unknown spectator, but rather the chief object of momentary interest, i. e. the fallen and beseeching gladiator. Hence to him the *pollex* should be directed.

The interpretation above advanced for *pollicem vertere* and *p. convertere* is strengthened by a study of the phrase *pollex infestus*. It is well known that *pollex infestus* stood for the hostile gesture of the thumb in the case of the amphitheatre spectators. E. g. Burmann, *Anthologia Latina* 3. 82. 28:

Sperat et in saeva victus gladiator harena,
sit licet infesto pollice turba minax.

Though the etymology of *infestus* is not absolutely certain, there is a fair degree of agreement among scholars in referring it to some word meaning *strike*. Not to consider seriously the

¹ Cf. the many euphemistic phrases for 'die' rather than the blunt *mori*.

² The symbolic use of the fingers precluded *their* use, besides there is peculiar significance in the use of the *pollex*. Cf. etymology of *pollex*: *polleo* (*potis* and *valeo*). "Pollex nomen ab eo, quod pollet accepit," Macr. Sat. 7. 13. 14, citing the grammarian Ateius Capito.

derivation of the word from *festinandum* by P. Nigidius Figulus, a grammarian of the time of Cicero,¹ or from *inferus* (cf. the remarks as to *ad inferos* above), Roby (Grammar of the Latin Lang., §704, footnote) refers *infestus* to *ferire* 'strike.' Georges derives the word from *in* and *fendo* (the primitive seen in *defendo*), as do Lewis and Short. It is hardly due entirely to graphical peculiarities that *infestus* and *infensus* are confused in MSS. We can scarcely doubt that *infestus* primarily = *in* ('against') + *fendo* ('strike').

That *infestus* has two meanings was recognized by Gellius:² 1. 'unjust, unsafe'; 2. (act.) 'hostile, dangerous, threatening.' Manifestly, in *pollex infestus* the adj. has the latter meaning. But 'hostile' or 'dangerous' to whom? To the fallen gladiator certainly, and *not* to the passive spectator. If the symbolism of the *pollex* counts for anything, why not that of *infestus*? Some uses of *infestus* are here to the point, showing that in its sense the adjective has a literal directive signification. So *infesta hasta* (Verg. Aen. 10. 877), to which Servius says: "in vulnus parata, id est protenta." Here the *hasta*, like the *pollex* in *p. infestus*, is turned hostilely towards the object for which the hostile feeling is entertained. Cf. "infestis signis; Tarquinius infesto spiculo petit" (Livy 2. 20. 2); even in *exercitu infesto* and *infestis oculis*. In all these cases the adverse directive force of the adjective appears clearly enough.

But there is a far different application of the phrase *pollex infestus*, an examination of which is not without value here. The phrase *pollex infestus* was used by the Romans to denote a certain kind of gesture used by some orators in making the opening remarks of a speech. The term *p. infestus* used of the orator is used evidently of something well understood, and, although having no hostile sense in this latter use, and being employed apparently to describe a peculiar gesture only, there is hardly reason to doubt that the position of the hand and thumb described by *p. infestus* in the one case is the same as that in the other. It is not to be supposed that a phrase apparently so characteristic would stand for two different things *unless somehow qualified*, in order to define more closely the peculiar signification in a given case. The passage of most interest in this connection, referring to this use of *p. infestus*, is as follows: Quintil. 11. 3. 119, Fit et ille habitus, qui esse in statu pacificator solet, qui, inclinato in

¹ Aulus Gellius 9. 12. 6.

² 9. 12. 2.

umerum dextrum capite, brachio ab aure protenso, manum infesto pollice extendit. The commentators throw no real exegetical light on this passage. Several things, however, may be noted. (1) Quintilian is not only speaking of gesture, but especially of bad or faulty gesture. (2) Without much amplification he refers to a considerable number of such gestures, the foregoing sentence, for example (which, by the way, is not undisputed as to MS reading) containing several such references. (3) The *fit et ille* sentence has apparently no dependence on the former sentence. (4) The head being inclined to, or towards, the right shoulder, the arm is extended forward (*protenso*) from the ear, and the hand is *extended* with the thumb in the *infestus* position. As to the *qui . . . pacificator solet* there seems to be no archaeological help obtainable from existing remains. If we, interpreting the words of Quintilian literally, extend the arm from the ear, it may seem as if the *most natural* gesture were to half invert the hand and turn the thumb *up*. But when we do this, the position of the thumb will not be what is demanded by those who advocate the upward turn of the *pollex*. The thumb *will not point to the throat or breast of the spectator*, as those who favor this interpretation of *p. vertere* assume. It is not only *too high to do so*, but cannot be made to point *in the right direction*. Remember that *infestus* (*in + fendo*) apparently *points to SOMETHING*. Moreover, if the *pollex infestus* be the upward turn of the thumb, why the necessity of describing a gesture or position so natural by a technical phrase which clearly points to something abnormal? (Quintilian, be it remembered, is describing awkward and ridiculous gesture.) If, on the other hand, we extend the arm from the ear as before, but do not invert the hand, the finger cannot now be made to point to the throat or breast, *provided it be kept extended from the ear*, any more than in the former case when the hand was inverted. But how easily does the thumb now point *downward* to the imaginary fallen gladiator!

One passage from Appuleius seems to throw a little light on this use of *infestus*. *Metamor.* 2. 21. 142, Effultus in cubitum suberectusque in torum porrigit dexteram, et ad instar oratorum conformat articulum; duobusque infimis conclusis digitis, ceteros eminentes porrigenes et infesto pollice clementer subridens inquit. Unfortunately, the passage is corrupt, such important words as *conclusis* and *eminentes* being in dispute, because of MS differences. For *eminentes* some adopt the MS reading *eminens* or *eminus*. Hildebrand reads *eminus* = *e manu*. Baumeister (p.

590) cites this passage to illustrate another gesture altogether. But it seems to me impossible, for in the illustration which he gives (from a so-called Dareios vase) the *pollex* is not in the position demanded by any theory of the *pollex infestus*. It is to be noted that the gesture here described is referable to the beginning of the orator's remarks. May not the phrase *qui esse in statu pacificator solet* in the Quintilian citation refer to a gesture by which the orator about to begin his remarks would ask for silence? If so, the gesture of the Appuleius passage would seem to be intended to serve the same purpose and to be virtually the same gesture.

What was the corresponding sign of *missio*, or mercy? There is about as much difference of opinion here as in regard to the sign of condemnation. Most modern authorities assume that the phrase expressive of the sign for *missio* is *pollicem premere*. They explain it to mean that the thumb was simply turned downwards; that is, the opposite gesture to *p. vertere*, when standing for the death signal, expressed by an upward turn of the *pollex*. Mayor (Juv. 3. 66) says that this downward turn of the *p. premere* was a signal that the conqueror was to drop his sword, raised to slay the vanquished gladiator. But is *premere* in this use equivalent to *vertere*? It stands to reason that, if *p. vertere* means, as I have sought to prove, to turn the thumb downwards, *p. premere* must stand for something different. Even if *p. vertere* meant to turn the thumb upwards, *p. premere* must mean something more than merely to turn the thumb downwards. If we inquire by appealing to the literal or radical meaning of *premere*, we find that it most naturally means to *press* or *squeeze*, not to *turn*. Press or squeeze the thumb how, or by what? If *premere* have a literal signification here, *p. premere* points to a literal squeezing or pressing of the thumb by the fingers, hiding the thumb in the palm of the hand, for the *pollex* can be squeezed only by the remaining fingers of the hand. Assuming that my notion of the gesture is correct, is any explanation forthcoming? Was it symbolic? If so, of what? Kiessling, in common with others, commenting on Horace, Epist. 1. 18. 66, refers to the passage in Pliny, H. N. 28. 2. 25, Pollices, cum faveamus, premere etiam proverbio iubemur. Other classical references—unfortunately but few in number—add a little. That the passage in Horace above mentioned (Epist. 1. 18. 65–66) refers to the amphitheatre contests is clear (although the direct reference here is to a mock fight at a country-seat) from the technical word *ludus*, and from

the allusion to the custom of matching the gladiators in pairs (see *alterutrum* v. 64) in the actual fight. The inference is that in Horace's time the *pollex* was used somehow to favor the victorious gladiator; that is, to declare in favor of the *missio*. Another passage is in Statius, *Theb.* 8. 26, *Fata serunt animas et eodem pollice damnant.* (For *serunt* some MSS read *ferunt*.) We may here presumably infer that as late as Statius (latter half of the first century A. D.) the *pollex* was used to indicate the spectator's wish for *missio*, assuming that the allusion is to the amphitheatre custom, which there seems no reason to doubt. Naturally, too, *if the same thumb be used*, the gesture must be very different in the one case from that used in the other.

Reverting to the Pliny excerpt, it is fair to say that we have no direct proof that the thing alluded to by him was the identical gesture used for the *missio*. It seems, however, more than probable. Pliny refers evidently to something that was old and well-established enough to have become proverbial. The use of the plural *pollices* is no more against it than the *utroque . . . pollice* of Horace, *Epist.* 1. 18. 66, cited above. There is no reason for understanding *faveamus* reflexively, or to doubt that the 'favor' refers to other persons than the subject. I can see no good reason for believing that Pliny refers to any gesture made with a view to warding off the evil eye, as Kiessling seems to think. As is well known, the Romans sought to offset and render abortive this evil influence by various charms designed to distract, or throw off its guard, the evil power by an imprecation, or by some scare-crow of a laughable or obscene character. The most common of all these charms was the *fascinum*¹ or *phallus*. This was made on an emergency, by one who would paralyze the evil eye, by sticking the thumb between the index and second, or middle, finger (*digitus medius* or *impudicus*), or by extending the *digitus medius* from the other clinched fingers. Kiessling evidently assumes (1) a real, or symbolic, resemblance between the *fascinum* and the *p. premere* gesture, and (2) that the Pliny passage refers to the gesture made against *fascinatio*, for he cites this passage and also says that the *p. premere* gesture had, properly speaking, an obscene signification, and served as a means of averting evil influences, like the evil eye, etc. If K. means that the *p. premere* gesture and the *fascinum* were identical, is either assumption correct? That the latter may have

¹ Porphy. ad Hor. *Epod.* 8. 18.

suggested the former is possible, but not, I believe, probable. The sign, or demonstration, against *fascinatio* looks to the protection or preservation of *him who uses it*. Reasoning *a priori*, is it likely that the same gesture would be used in so changed and objective a sense as to look to the preservation of another than of him who uses it, especially *when there is no question of FASCINATIO involved?* If the *fascinum* gesture was the *p. premere* gesture, which *fascinum* gesture, we must ask, for there were, as we know, two of them? If the *digitus medius* stretching from the clenched fist is meant, it is so like the *p. vertere* as to be practically useless in a great assembly. If the other *fascinum* gesture be meant, in which the thumb was pressed and extended between the *digitus index* and the *digitus medius*, then, although the literal etymological demand of *premere* is satisfied, and though there is enough difference between the two gestures to preclude confusion, still we can see no connection between the gesture and the thing for which it is supposed to stand. If we could believe that Pliny's words refer to the *fascinatio* we might accept this interpretation, but there is no proof that they do refer to this, or, indeed, to the *missio* at all. Besides, if Pliny here refers to power against 'fascination,' it is strange that he does not plainly say so, as he has done in other places where he has spoken directly of the *fascinus* and of *fascinatio*,¹ rather than speak of something apparently different. Why resort to a half-mythical explanation, when a more direct and natural one will suffice? If the *pollex* symbolized the short sword in the one case (*p. vertere* or *convertere*), the symbolism should hold good in the second case. If the *p. vertere* points the sword at the fallen gladiator, why should not the *p. premere* symbolize by the pressing and hiding of the *pollex infestus* the hiding of the sword within the sheath and the preservation of the appealing gladiator?

Furthermore, it may be that during the empire a different fashion was set through court or other influence, and that *missio* was sometimes indicated otherwise than by the *p. premere* gesture. We have already cited Friedländer (see p. 213), who inclines to the belief that the desire for *missio* was indicated by the waving of *mappae*, or the holding up of a finger. Let us examine what grounds F. has for his double assertion. In his *Sittengeschichte* he gives no authority at all for his first statement, which is doubtfully made. But in his edition of Martial, commenting on 12. 29.

¹ E. g. H. N. 28. 3. 39.

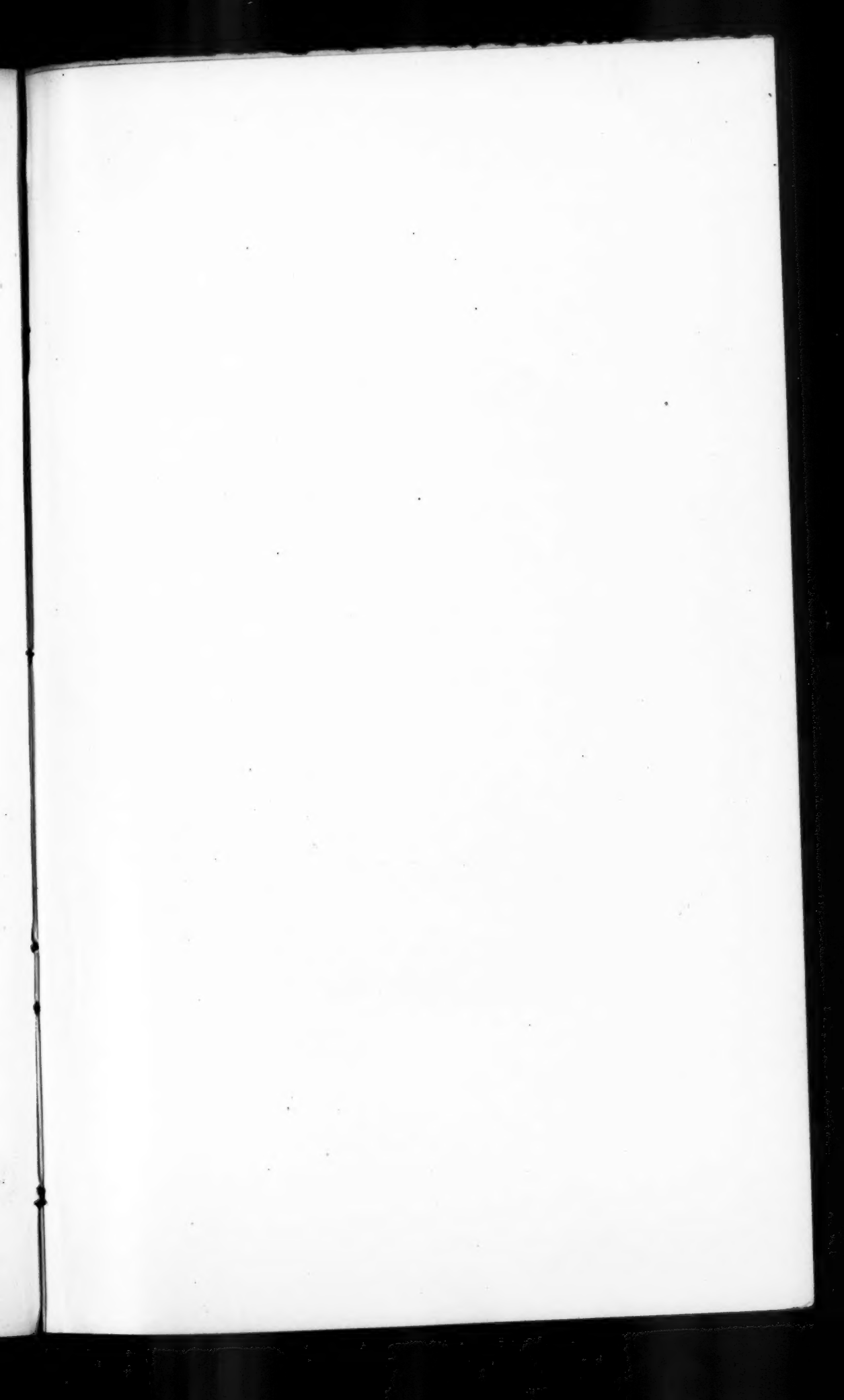
7-8, he says: "Um die Entlassung eines Gladiators von dem Spielgeber zu erbitten, schwenkte man Tücher." The words of Martial are:

Nuper cum Myrino peteretur missio laeso,
subduxit mappas quattuor Hermogenes.

The *onus probandi* is evidently with him who would assume that *mappae* were waved, for no mention is made of the fact. Unless strongly called for by the context, it would seem utterly unscientific to infer this, more especially when based upon but a single example. At first sight the context seems to require no such assumption. The brief period during which the *missio* was being demanded by the crowd for Myrinus would be one of great excitement—a fine opportunity for pickpockets!—and Martial may mean that Hermogenes used his time to such good purpose that he actually purloined, not one, but four *mappae*. It would appear ridiculous to assume that he could on the sly (notice the *SUB-duxit*) steal *mappae* from the very hands of people waving them, while the other interpretation appears natural. Let us, however, examine our citation in connection with the other parts of the epigram. Hermogenes, says Martial, was an inveterate thief, who stole as many *mappae* as Massa, who had plundered a province, had stolen sesterces. This hyperbolic style Martial, for a reason perfectly clear, keeps up through the entire epigram. He says, for example, that H. will find some way to steal your *mappa* if you hold his left and watch his right hand. Immediately following our quotation Martial says that, when the praetor in the circus was about to drop the *mappa*—the usual signal to the *aurigae* for starting—Hermogenes managed to steal it. Since no guest brought a *mappa* to dinner, because they knew their man, H. stole the table-cloth. When H. enters the theatre, although it may be extremely hot, the *velarium* is rolled back lest he steal it. Our passage seems to be the weakest illustration of the misdirected activity of H., if he only purloined four *mappae*—surely no impossible feat, if the demand for the *missio* required several minutes and the *mappae* were handkerchiefs carried on the person. If, on the other hand, we understand that these *mappae* played some part in the *missio* demand, that H. was sly and adept enough to get them away from the very hands of those who held them, as he stole the praetor's *mappa* and could steal yours though you held one of his hands and kept an eye on the other, the hyperbole is strong enough to serve Martial and no more extreme than the others in the epigram. A further exam-

ination of the epigram shows that the various things mentioned as the objects of H.'s kleptomania, actual or possible, are *directly essential to the action*, or *are a part of the thing described*, and not merely incidental, like handkerchiefs, e. g. the *mappa* of the praetor, the table-cloth at dinner, the *velarium* in the circus, etc. So the *mappae* in our quotation should have some direct relation to the demand for the *missio* which is mentioned. It is hard to see how *mappae* could have been so used except by waving them and thus backing up the shout or clamor of the crowd. Still, there is a difficulty in this assumption. There seems to be no doubt that under the empire, even during Martial's own time, the *pollex* was used as a sign of favor. Cf. the passages already cited from Horace, Statius and Juvenal. Can the use of both means of declaring for the *missio* at the same period be explained? The populace would naturally defer to and appeal to the *princeps* for decision, when he was present at the games, rather than take the matter into their own hands. It is more than likely that court and fashionable demands would insist on one means of declaring for the *missio* when the crowd had the right to do so, and on something else when the people could only appeal to the *princeps*. I suspect that, if the waving of *mappae* were a sign of the *missio*-desire, it merely served to express the wish of the crowd that the emperor should spare the life of a vanquished favorite. It is to be noticed here (Mart. 12. 29. 7) that there is no statement that the people VOTED *missio* to Myrinus, but that they *begged* for him the official release. Cf. Liber Spectaculorum 29, *Missio saepe viris magno clamore petita est*. Here the *princeps* is expressly stated to have exercised the deciding power. Friedländer's second surmise, viz. that the finger of the spectator was raised as a sign for *missio*, rests apparently on even less substantial basis. There seems to be absolutely no proof from literature, or indeed from any source. Friedländer (vol. II, p. 346, footnote 1), quoting from the *Bulletino dell' Instituto* for 1853, refers to a relief found at Cavillargues, France, now in the museum at Nîmes, representing a combat between two gladiators. In this relief, according to Friedländer, appear four spectators, three men and a woman, who are said to hold the thumb upwards.¹ The inscription on the

¹ The new edition of Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, mistranslating Friedländer, represents the woman only as raising her thumb, which, if the fact, would prove no more than a possible difference of opinion among the spectators. Meier (De gladiatura Romana, p. 47, n. 1) says:





relief fixes the meaning. The first letters are obscure, the remaining letters being TES MISSI. The obscure letters are likely STAN, which would give us STANTES MISSI, as F. supplies. The combat being a drawn one, the spectators are represented as asking that the *missio* be voted the combatants. All of which, even if to be fairly got out of the relief, would prove little, being but a single fact. But the relief will admit of no such interpretation. So far as I know, it has never been published. To the courtesy of M. Estève, Curator of the Archaeological Museum at Nîmes, I am indebted for a full-sized photograph of this relief, together with supplementary explanations. The relief is upon a circular piece of terra-cotta, with convex top, the concavity being 0.025 m. It served, when found in 1845 or 1847, as a cover to a mortuary urn. It is to be observed that each gladiator is accompanied by a *lanista* (?). The one to the right, who extends his arm and whose hand is represented with the four fingers bent down over the thumb, seems to corroborate in an unexpected way what has been said of the *pollicem premere* as a declaration for the *missio*. The position of the hand is not natural, and the abnormal position stands for *something*. The inscription proves that the relief is a representation connected in some way with the *missio*, and we cannot refuse to believe that the *lanista*, or backer of the *secutor*, or Samnite, as he may be, is asking the *missio* for his man. Friedländer's four spectators, one of whom he says is a woman, and who hold the thumb up as a sign for *missio*, are at the very top of the relief. The slightest examination must convince any one that they cannot be spectators. There are several reasons which occur to me why they cannot be so regarded, only one of which will I mention now, viz. that of the four figures, (counting from the left) only the second and fourth are facing us, the first and the third being turned the other way. Of the four persons, only one, or possibly two, can be said to raise the hand in the air. Lastly, the work was originally so rough, or has suffered so much mutilation, that absolutely nothing can be inferred as to the thumbs of a single so-called spectator. The second conjectural statement of Friedländer receives no support whatever from this relief, which seems to be his only authority.

EDWIN POST.

"Femina in altiore suggestu sedens digitoque sublato gladiatores mittens depicta est in anaglypho, de quo Henzen bull. d. inst. 1853, p. 130, conferatur."

NOTES.

ETYMOLOGICAL.

1. *vivo*: *vixi*, *victus*.

The origin of the guttural in *vixi* and *victus* has never, so far as I know, been explained. These forms belong to the nearly synonymous *vigeo*. Cf. Cic. N. W. 2. 33. 83 quae a terra stirpibus continentur, arte naturae vivunt et vigent; Tusc. 1. 27. 66 quod sentit, quod sapit, quod vivit, quod viget.

English *quick* vouches, perhaps, for the I. E. existence of the guttural. Sk. *jágat* 'a moving, living creature,' man or animal, has always been explained as a participle to I. E. \sqrt{gem} . Grk. *ῥίγας*, *γίγαντ-* shows the strong stem. *jágat* has the weak stem, like all the reduplicated present participles in Sk. Latin *vigeo* has the same origin. The pres. ptc. *vigent-* goes back to an I. E. $ge(?)gmont-$ whose next stage, still in I. E., was very likely $ge(?)gng(n)t-$. It seems impossible to exactly reconstruct the present reduplicating vowel. For Greek and Latin it is *i*, Sanskrit *e* ($*gē > *je > jā$). *ῥίγας* is practically ptc. to *βίβημι*; cf. Hom. *μακρὰ βιβάς, ὕψι βιβάντι* (Il. 7. 213, 13. 371). The semasiological connection with *ῥίγας* is made ready to hand. The giants were 'high steppers,' an intensive effect given first by reduplication, and later, when this sense was paling out, reinforced by adverbs. *ῥίγας* has for some reason not been affected by labialization. Lat. *vigent-* for $*vivent- < gignēt-$ is due, very likely, to $*vig-si$, $*vig-tus > vic-si$, *vic-tus*. A present ptc. $*vivent-$ led very easily to confusion with *vivent- < gignēt-*. Lat. *vegeo* is probably due to such doublets as *intellego*: *intelligo*.

In *βι-βάς* the accent has been affected by *βάς*, as *i-στάς* by *στάς*.

2. *mīlia*: *χίλια*: *sa-hásram*.

mīlia has been previously equated with *μύριοι*; cf. e. g. Thurneysen, KZ., vol. 30, p. 351. Thurneysen there suspects, but hesitatingly, a connection with *μεστός* 'full,' and a Latin occurrence of vocalic *g*. *mīlia* is, however, precisely the same as the Sanskrit word for 'thousand,' *sa-hásram*. The I. E. language had two

methods of numbering: unemphatic, (a) thousand, Grk. χίλια; emphatic, one thousand, Sk. *sa-hásram*; Grk. ἑκατόν, one hundred; Lat. *centum*, (a) hundred. In Latin '(a) thousand' was **hília*. The *h* was phonetically nearly valueless; cf. Lat. *anser*: Grk. χήν 'goose.' One thousand was in Latin **sm-(h)ília*; cf. *sim-plex*, 'one-fold'; *sm-* never took vocalic function, owing probably to the accent, in **sm-(h)ília*; cf. *sa-hásram*. **smília* gave *mília*; cf. *mirus*: Sk. √ *smi* 'smile, admire.' The *ī* of *mília* is the continuant of I. E. *ǵ*; cf. the examples given by Thurneysen in the article cited above; *tri-vi* < **trig'i*: τριβω, I. E. **trǵō*; *fr̥volus*: χρίω < I. E. **ghrǵ-jō*.

mília and χίλια are identical in suffix, < I. E. **ghǵl-ǵō*.

Old Irish *míle* 'thousand' was probably borrowed from Latin. So Brug. II, p. 506.

Lat. *mile* (not *mille*) stands in the same relation to *mília* as *omne* : *omnia*.

SEMASIOLOGICAL.

πιέζω : *piḍayate* : 'sit on.'

Gr. *πιέζω*; Sk. *piḍayate*, (1) 'press,' (2) 'oppress,' both with the same meanings, were compared by Pott, Etym. Forsch. I², p. 514. He derived both words out of a clipped preposition, Sk. (a)*pi*, Grk. (ε)*πι* + √ *sed*. This root took for Sk. a weak form: *pi+sd* > **pizd* > *piḍ*. In Greek we have the strong form *πι+εζ* = *πιεζ* < **πισεδ*. It is likely that this combination had taken on an independent value in I. E. and dissociated itself from its components. Grk. *ἐπίσταμαι* 'understand' had likewise lost touch with *ιστημι*; cf. Eng. *stand* in *understand*.

Leo Meyer, in KZ. VI, p. 428, objects to the derivation from (e)*pi+sed* as follows; "Die Deutung des Letzteren (i. e. *piḍ*) aber aus einer Zusammensetzung *api+sad*, aufsitzen, ist schon der Bedeutung wegen unwahrscheinlich, wenn wir z. B. die Verbindung *ḡaravarḡāis piḍayitum* (Bopp, Glossar, 218), mit Pfeilregen bedrängen, treffen, oder geradezu durchbohren, und ähnliche genauer erwägen." In this connection let us consider the colloquialism 'sit on (upon) a man,' much the same as 'oppress,' German 'bedrängen.' Mr. Howells is perhaps more wise than witty when he remarks in 'Criticism and Fiction' that 'slang has probably always been dropping its *s* and becoming language.'

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Lateinische Volksetymologie und Verwantes, von OTTO KELLER. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1891. pp. x, 387. 8vo.

Keller's book is the first attempt at a systematic treatment of Latin folk-etymology, where the form of a word is affected by false derivation or mistaken analogy, or where the signification is warped and perverted from the assumption of a false relationship. It is a loose collection of material rather than an exposition of the principles on which popular etymology is based. But we must be satisfied until we can get something better. The treatise is divided into two parts: 1. Latin Folk-etymology, and 2. Etymologies of Loan-words. An appendix to Part I treats of popular etymologies in the domain of the Greek language. One of the most unpleasant features of the book is that the author seldom mentions the sources from which he has compiled it, so that any reader who has not worked in the same line must needs receive the impression that a great many etymologies are here proposed for the first time, which is by no means the case. I have compared the book with the works and articles of Hehn, O. Schrader, Bradke, O. Weise, Saalfeld and others, and have found that in many cases our author copies their statements without giving due credit to them. Again, Keller assumes a number of popular etymologies without explaining cause or origin, and a careful reader will be compelled to sprinkle almost every page with interrogation marks; for, in his desire to explain every strange formation as the result of popular etymology, every obscure word as a loan-word from the Semitic or other languages, the author has often been misled into fanciful and absurd statements.

On pp. 18, 51, 251 and 352 the etymology of Palmyra from the Phoenician Tadmor is discussed. No sources or authorities are mentioned, nor is Keller able to explain how Tadmor was changed to Palmyra. The etymology was first proposed by Movers (Phoenizier, II 3, p. 224 f.), who considered Tadmor (2 Chron. 8, 4) an old colony of King Solomon. The reading Tāmār (1 Kings, 9, 18) he explained as a later change of the original Tadmor.¹ Blau (ZDMG. 25, 542) has shown that there existed a form Ταλμύρα for Ταδμύρα, λ for δ being a result of dissimilation. Ταδμύρα, again, is from Tadmur, which, of course, is connected with Hebrew תְּמָר 'date-palm.'² On the other hand, see Nöldeke's cautious remarks in Gött. Gel. Anz. 1881, 1222-31, and Lagarde's Übersicht über die . . . Bildung der Nomina, in Gött. Gel. Abh., vol. 35, 125. A knowledge of Nöldeke's remarks would have warned Keller against deriving *palma* from an hypothetical **tadmar* = **padmar*. *Palma* was the genuine Latin name for the dwarf-palm (*chamaerops humilis*). To the layman both trees looked very much alike. "Und nun bedenke man, wie weit die Alten, besonders die

¹ See also Gutschmid, Kleine Schriften, II 11.

² Literally, 'the lofty tree,' from a verb *tāmār* 'be high, lofty.'

Römer, in der Uebertragung von Namen heimischer Gegenstände auf fremde giengen. Wenn man die Datteln als 'Eicheln' (βάλανοι; schon bei Herodot, und immer das classische Wort geblieben) und den Elephanten als lucanischen Ochsen¹ bezeichnete, so kann man doch wol auch den Dattelbaum mit heimischen Namen Palme (= Zwergpalme) genannt haben." Keller derives δάκτυλος from an Arabic *dakhl* 'fluctuant, wavering,' but such a word I cannot find in Arabic.² The specifically Arabic word for date-palm is *naxl*, an expression wanting in the other Semitic languages. The origin of Greek δάκτυλος is not quite certain; Pliny's statement, 13, 9, §46, rather favors a connection between δάκτυλος 'date-palm' and δάκτυλος 'finger.' I would also suggest as further literature on the subject Lagarde's Mittheilungen, II 356; KZ. V 188 and VIII 398; L. Fleischer in Levy's Wörterbuch der Targumim, I 443 b.

Annulus ring from *amulus*, although advocated by Sophus Bugge, Etrusk. Forschungen, IV 124, is rejected by Gustav Meyer and others. *Esquiliae* and *Esquilinus* from *esculus*, *aesculus* 'winter oak,' was proposed as early as 1875 by Fritzsche, Horace, Satires, I 8, 14, but the *qu* makes it rather doubtful; also see H. Jordan in Hermes, 1880, No. 1. Greek νύμφη passed into Latin as *lymp̄ha* for *nymph̄a*, *num̄pa*. So Keller, who compares for the change of λ to n λαγχάνω and *nanciscor*; but the latter is utterly impossible, and that νύμφη—*lymp̄ha* are two different words has been proved by Weise, Die griechischen Wörter im Latein, p. 14.

In many instances Keller's etymologies are forced and unnatural, e. g. the *Furculae Caudinae* are derived from Greek φόρκες = χάρακες; but how should φόρκες have become known to the inhabitants of the Apennine mountains? *Suleviae*, a by-form of *Silviae* 'forest nymphs,' is explained by a false analogy to *sublevare*, as if they had changed into *subleviae* 'protecting goddesses'; but insertion of a vowel is not so rare in Latin, where we have *calicare* for *calcare*, *magenae* for *magnae*; thus also *jugulans* for *juglans* 'walnut' need not be associated with *jugulus* 'a pair,' because they are often found in pairs. The original form of *Mars grādīvus* was *Grabōvius* on the Eugubine tables; the Romans changed this, so we are told now, into *grādīvus* with an intentional leaning on *grādior*. But this is by no means new doctrine; it was taught by Bréal long ago in his Les tables eugubines, p. 66. Another etymology of *grādīvus* from *grandīvus* from *grandire* 'to grow' = 'a deity promoting growth' is found in A. J. P. IV 71. *Castrare* from *castor* (pp. 75, 285) is also taught by Stowasser, but W. Meyer-Lübke, Indogerm. Forschungen, I, Anzeiger, 121 f., justly warns against this etymology; W. P. Mustard, The Etymologies in the Servian Commentary to Vergil, p. 17, simply quotes: *castores autem a castrando dicti sunt*. *Capis*, *capidis* 'a bowl with one handle, especially used for sacrifices,' is explained as borrowed from the Greek καπίθη 'a measure containing two χοίνικες' (Xen. An. I 5, 6), i. e. about two quarts. But καπίθη must have been a rare word in Greek; it occurs only in this passage and was evidently borrowed by Xenophon from the Old Persian original *karōis*; the same occurs

¹ See, however, Bücheler, Rhein. Mus. 40, 150: "*bos luca* is not a Lucanian cow, but, as Varro has it, *lucas ab luce*; cf. Horace, *elephans albus*."

² Arabic *dakhl* means 'burrow, side-hole, corner of a tent'; *daxl* = 'entrance, interference, disturbance; intention, custom, habit'; *dakl* = 'to knead clay, tread, tread down'; *daql* = 'to prevent, hinder, forbid, strike.'

in Armenian as *kapič*, Syr. ܟܦܝܫ, passed thence into Arabic as *qafiz* and, again, into mediaeval Latin as *cafisium* (Lagarde, *Arm. Studien*, 1108; *Abh.* 81; *Mittheilungen*, II 27; *Symmicta*, I 45). On p. 82 Keller, following Rönsch, compares Latin *capitulata* 'a vessel of uncertain dimensions,' Augustinus epistolae, 2, 48, with Greek *καπέτις* = *χοῖνιξ*, seemingly ignorant of the fact that *καπίθη* and *καπέτις* go back to the same original. Lagarde (*Abh.* 198, 32; *Arm. Stud.* 1108; *Übersicht*, 61, 7) has shown that *καπέτις* does not exist in Greek; Polyaeus 4, 3, 32 has to be corrected into *καπέλις* = *καπαῖλις* = Syr. ܟܦܝܫ. Latin *samentum* 'wollumwundener Oelzweig den der Flamen auf dem Kopfe trug' is derived from *σῆμα*, the Doric for *σῆμα*. But Bücheler, *Rhein. Mus.* 37, 516, says: *samentum*, a Hernican word (Fronto, IV 4, p. 67, Naber), is related to *sagmen*, as *segmentum* to *segmen*; the guttural has been lost, as in *lumen*, *luna* (**lūcna*, **λεγκνα*), *examen*. The word belongs to the Italic root *sak*, and its general sense is 'means of divine confirmation, token of consecration.' *Amuletum* is derived from Arabic *hamalet* 'appendix, amulet.' But there is no such word in Arabic.¹ Our author, no doubt, believes that as Arabic *tilsam*, *tilism* = talisman, was borrowed from the M. G. *τέλεσμα*, so *amuletum* must, as a fair exchange, have been taken from the Arabic. The word, however, is not Semitic at all. J. G. Gildemeister, one of the best Arabic scholars, rejected the usual derivation of this noun mentioned by Varro (apud Charisium, 105, 9, edit. Keil) and often used by Pliny, and says that its origin must be sought in Latin sources (*ZDMG.* 38, 140-42). *Culullus* (p. 82) is derived by S. Fränkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, p. 170, from the Semitic. Of the two forms *polenta* and *pulenta*, the latter is considered (p. 83) as the more original form, but Meyer-Lübke (*Philolog. Abhandlungen*, H. Schweizer-Sidler gewidmet, p. 19) shows that *pólenta* is the original form. *Parricida*, *parricidium* for *patricida*, is by far inferior to Stowasser's derivation of the nouns from *parrēre*, or rather from the adjective **parrus*, *a, um* (cf. *parra* [*avis*] 'bird of omen') 'open, manifest'; "*parricidium* ist offener Mord, juristisch-erwiesener Mord im Gegensatz zur *manifesta caedes*, die nicht juristisch, sondern durch Ergreifen auf frischer Tat bewiesen ist" (*Dunkle Wörter*, I, p. 19). *Turunda* 'a kind of sacrificial cake' is derived from the accusative *τυροῦντα* 'cheese-bread, cheese-cake, cheese'; but J. Piechotta, *Wölfflin's Archiv*, I, No. 4, believes it to be an odd case of metathesis for *rutunda*, like *lapidicina* for *lapicidina*. From *turunda*, in its later signification of a 'ball of paste for fattening geese,' Keller derives *opturare* (*obturare*) 'to stop up, close, to fatten,' for *obtundare*; while Stowasser, much better, refers it directly to *τυρός*, giving it a meaning similar to that of the late Greek *τυρόω*. *Amussis* 'rule, level' is derived from Greek *ἄμμοσις*, *ἄρμμοξις* (like Saalfeld, *Tensaurus*); Stowasser borrows it from the Hebrew *ammáh*, c. st. *ammáth*, 'ell, cubit.' Weise's much better etymology from *ἄμυξις* is not mentioned by either. *Littera* for *dittera* is said to be the Greek *διφθέρα*, an etymology claimed by Bréal as his property and declared utterly impossible by Gustav Meyer. I will mention in this connection that Fürst (*Lexicon*, 308) goes a step further, deriving the Greek from an impossible Arabic *daf(dif)tarun*, which he combined with Hebrew *דָּפִיר* and explained as *דָּפִיר תָּרִי* (book town). A number

¹*Hámala* means (1) 'be bathed in tears; flow, rain steadily and uniformly'; inf. *hamal*, *humál* and *hamalan*; (2) 'to pasture at large, day and night; leave undone, neglect, forget.'

of Keller's etymologies have long been forestalled by Bücheler in his excellent articles on Old Latin, which should be known to every philologist.¹ Thus *inciens* 'pregnant,' from *ἐγκνος*; *duploma* and *duplomum* for *diploma*, as a false analogy after *duplum*, is found in Rhein. Mus. 39, 408; so also *privilegium* for *privilegium*, after *primus*; Bücheler adds *Octimber* for *October*, after *imber*; *ilico* for *in loco*; *sedulus* for *se-dolo* = *sine dolo*, Rhein. Mus. 35, 627; *sedulus* for *sedolus* is due to the accent (Meyer-Lübke, l. c., p. 19); *caduceus* from *καρύκιον* goes back to Curtius, Grundzüge⁵, 438; *discipulus* for *disciculus* Keller owes to Stowasser's article in Archiv, V 289; paying no attention to Bréal's objections, ibid. 579. The combination of *φάσγανον* and *fuscina* was first suggested by Fröhde in Bezz. Beitr. I 249; also see Saalfeld, Tensaurus, 490; the word is as yet obscure; its ending *-ina* points to a Greek source, but as yet nothing certain is known (Meyer-Lübke, l. c., p. 17). The explanation of *redivivus* was first given by Lange.

The etymology of *accipiter* goes back to Wölfflin's Archiv, IV 141, 324; *coturnix*, *coturnus*, ibid. VI 562; *salaputtium*, IV 601; *caliendrum*, II 478-82; *maenianum*, V 290, VI 507; *mattiobarbulus*, V 135; *Ardalio*, V 486 and Bréal, Rev. de Philologie, IX 137; *meridies*, Archiv. I 273, also cf. VII 605; A. J. P. VII 228, VIII 82; *clanculum*, Archiv, VI 563, VII 23; *profecto*, II 334; for *aestimare*, *aestumare*, Studemund (ibid. I 115) might be remembered; *purare*, ibid. II 123; a writer on *trux* = *δόρξ* should take due notice of Ribbeck's article in Archiv, II 122; *velum* = *vexillum*, ibid. IV 413; *malacia*, VI 259, VII 270, 445, 586; *antenna*, O. Weise, Philolog. 47, 45; *idus*, Bücheler, Rhein. Mus. 44, 320; *satura*, *σάτυροι* goes back to Mommsen, Röm. Gesch. I 28, O. Ribbeck, Gesch. der röm. Dichtung, I 9, Archiv, V 33; *tus* to Jordan in Hermes (1880) and O. Weise in Lazarus & Steinthal, 13, 245. Under *omen* mention should be made of Stowasser, Dunkle Wörter, I 19, and Mähly, Philolog. 47, 568; for *caesaries* I refer to Lagarde, Arm. Stud. 35, 481; *Iulius*, *Iulus*, see Archiv, IV 586 and 616; Greek *τύραννος* corresponds to Armenian *թէր* = 'master' (Lagarde, Arm. Stud. 2217), and thus overthrows Keller's theory (pp. 329-30). Ramsay (Bezz. Beitr. 14, 309) says: "*τύραννος* is vouched for by the grammarians as Lydian, while *Φάναξ* is a Phrygian word."² *Reciprocus* should refer to Corssen's Kritische Nachträge, 136, and Rhein. Mus. 43, 399; also Greenough in Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, I (A. J. P. XI 225). On *ergo* and *erga* see now Zimmermann in Berl. philol. Wochenschrift, 1892, No. 18. The relation of *tentare* and *temptare*, *contemptus* is not explained by Keller (p. 151), but by Meyer-Lübke, l. c., p. 21.

Many etymologies correspond almost verbatim with those given by V. Hehn in his book: Wanderings of Plants and Animals, e.g. *astur* 'a species of hawk,' from *ἀστερίας*, after the analogy of *vultur*; *citrus* from *κέδρος*; *κολοκυνθίς* and *colocynthis*. Latin *pavo*, from *παῶς*, under the influence of *paupulare*. Strange to say, Lagarde, Beiträge zur Baktrischen Lexicographie, p. 65, says: *παῶς* is perhaps an old mistake for *παῶς*, *pavo*, and is nothing else but the older form of the Armenian *hau* (Arm. Stud. 1268), which means *ծրնիս*, *ծրնիւն*, *ալեկտր*. *παῶς* for *παῶς* originated perhaps as *πράσος* 'leek,' *πρασία* 'garden-plot' from Sem. *karraṣ*, Hebr. *כרש*, borrowed by the Ionians as *κράσος* and changed later into *πράσος*, whence also

¹ See A. J. P. VI 243, IX 237, X 247.

² See, however, Bezz. Beitr. 13, 314 and 15, 92; Mém. de ling. 3, pp. 27 and 275.

Latin *porrum*; or μάριπος, Latin *marsupium*, for μάρικος, from מִרְיָן. *Excetra* 'snake, serpent' is, according to the dictionaries, corrupted from ἐχιδνα. Keller attempts to convince us that the Romans adopted ἐξέδρα 'hall,' borrowed already as *ex-hedra*, *exedra*, instead of the correct ἐχιδνα; he compares with it the well-known 'marmorierte Häringe' and 'hermöglischst verschlossene Kästen,' overlooks, however, the great difficulty that these latter instances are adjectives, while ἐξέδρα is a noun. Stowasser (*Dunkle Wörter*, II) derives *excetra* from *ex* = ἐχis and *cetra* 'a short Spanish shield.' Both etymologies are forced, and Weise's comparison with Lithuanian *eschketras* 'whale,' Prussian *esketres* 'sturgeon,' Slav. *jesetrŭ*, Russ. *osetr* = 'stör,' is by far preferable. (Bezz. Beitr. V 82, VI 234; Saalfeld, *Tensaurus*, 477.)

I must take exception to such etymologies as φαλαρίς, φαληρίς 'water-hen, coot,' so called from its white head, borrowed by the Romans as *phaleris*, *phalaris*, was changed into *fulica*, *fulix* after a false analogy to *fuligo* 'soot,' because the main color of the bird was black. βλεφαρον and *palpebra* belong to the same root as the 'einfachste etymologische Instinct' would teach us, but, unfortunately, it has been declared impossible 'von autoritativer Seite aus' (p. 1); *cinnus* 'a mixed drink,' shortened from *concinnus*, from κυκεών; *sufflamen* 'a clog, drag-chain' is derived from ὑπόβλημα; πᾶνος and *pannus* 'cloth, garment' are combined, but Saalfeld, *Tensaurus*, G. Meyer, Berl. phil. Woch. 1887, 214, have shown that they are different words. *Mamphur* 'a bow drill' (Paul-Diac.) Keller derives from μαννοφόρος 'wearing a collar.' That Scaliger, O. Weise and Saalfeld, l. c., 659, have done so is not mentioned at all. Meyer-Lübke, l. c., pp. 24-27, shows that the *ph* in *mamphur* is as wrong as that in *sulphur*, etc., for *sulphur* or *sulfur*; that *mamfur*, again, is a mistake for *manfär*, which would be *mafar* in Latin; that it is an Oscan-Umbrian word, which in Latin must have become *mandarinum*, whence French *mandrin*, while the Italian *manfanile* is derived from the Oscan form *manfarinum*. *Porticus* is said to be from πορευτική sc. στοά, after the analogy of *portus*. *Monobelis*, from ὀβελός 'monolith,' was changed to *monubilis*, after the analogy of *nubilis* and *nobilis*; but J. Piechotta (*Wölflin's Archiv*, I, No. 4) has shown that *monubilis* with the force of monolith is to be identified with μονόβολος. Keller's etymology is at least better than the one offered in Harper's Latin Dictionary, where the noun is derived from *mōneo* (remind) and *columnae monubiles* explained as 'columns that serve as remembrancers.' Κατάστας is shortened in Latin to *catasta* 'scaffold, stage,' on which slaves were exposed for sale. So Keller, following Saalfeld, *Tensaurus*. But Stowasser and others consider it a compound of *cat* (= κατά) and *asta* (= hasta). *Basterna* 'sedan chair, litter' is connected by Keller, after Saalfeld, l. c., 168, and others, with βαστάζω, with a leaning toward *Basternae*, the name of a German tribe which became known to the Romans in the war with Pyrrhus and whose abode extended from the sources of the Vistula to the Carpathes. This comparison is certainly 'an den Haaren herbeigezogen'; besides, it is rather awkward for Keller that we have the same word in Armenian: *bastern* 'couch' (Lagarde, *Arm. Stud.* 27, 362; *Abh.* 23, 4). A look into Gesner's *Thesaurus* s. v. would have pointed our author to the right source. For Semele ζεμέλη = זמל I refer to *Revue des études juives*, XII, No. 23, p. 139.

Still less successful is Keller in his etymologies of Greek and Latin words

from the Semitic and other languages. *Pallas* ('Αθήνη) and *Palladion* are derived from Hebrew פָּלַת (*pālat*; not *pālat̃h*); but Keller disregards the fact that the Qal of this verb means 'to escape,' while 'to save' is the meaning of the Piel. I fail to see from what Hebrew or Phoenician noun-formation the word could be derived, unless it be from an intensive form like *gannāb*. 'Αθήνη, according to our author (p. 228), is the same word as Semitic *Ate*; he overlooks one slight difficulty, namely, that *Ate* is the name of a Phoenician god (not goddess!); *Ατάργαις* = Attar-Ate = the Ištar of the god Ate. Artemis Munichia is connected with מִנְחָה 'gift, sacrifice, unbloody offering,' simply because such sacrifices were offered to that goddess. How the Semitic noun should have become a Greek adjective is not explained. *Μονίχια* is said to be based on the analogy of *μοῦνος μόνυχος* 'the unmarried goddess,' and this, again, was changed to *μοννυχία* with reference to *νύξ*, thus Artemis Munichia = 'die in der Nacht einsam wandelnde Artemis.'

Ειλήθνια, as well as *Myllitta*, are derived from the Hebrew-Phoenician יָלַד; the one is as impossible as the other. No Semitic scholar, at present, will combine *Myllitta* with Hebrew יָלַד 'to bear.' The word is a corruption of the Babylonian *Belit* (the *Beltis* of the Old Testament). It is an agreeable surprise to see that Keller does not also derive *Λητώ*, Aeolic *Λάτων*, *Latona*, from this Semitic verb 'to bear.' What he remarks on p. 62 is found already in Bezz. Beitr. 5, 86; KZ. 30, 211. *Λητώ* as well as 'Αρτεμις and 'Απόλλων *Δυκαῖος* seem to be of Phrygian origin. C. P. Tiele, *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, I 179, II 139, quotes a Carian inscription where *lada* occurs in the meaning of 'lady, mistress' = *freya*. Bury's etymology of 'Αρτεμις in Bezz. Beitr. 7, 340, I cannot accept; nor C. Roberts' derivation from *ἀρτεμέω*; nor do I agree with C. D. Buck that "since the form 'Αρταμ- has a small representation compared with 'Αρτεμ- we are certainly not justified in regarding the former as the original, and that, according to all probability, 'Αρτεμις is the original form and every attempt to find an etymology should take this as the basis" (A. J. P. X 466). Lagarde's Abh. 153 ('Αρτας); Bezz. Beitr. 11, 192, and C. P. Tiele's remarks in the journal quoted above, will furnish good material for the correct etymology.

Μέγαρα, *μάγαρα*, *μέγαρον* are all derived from Hebr. מַעְרָה. That M. Jos. Halévy is the author of this etymology (*Mélanges de critique et d'histoire sémit.* p. 144) is not mentioned by Keller, who quotes this book repeatedly. Lagarde, *Reliquiae jur. eccles. XXXVII*, has: *μέγαρον* eodem quo *tugurium* refero, ad מַעְרָה scilicet; and more may be found in the same writer's *Symmicta*, I 3, II 91; *Mittheilungen*, I 230. G. Hoffmann, *Einige Phoenikische Inschriften*, p. 6, rem. 1, says: "Das karthagische *Μέγαρα* = מַעְרָה wegen der sachlichen Übereinstimmung; vergleiche die Verstümmelung Carthada for קרתחדשת." *Κύκλωψ* Keller believes to be 'eine malerische Reduplication' of the onomatopoetic root *klap, klop*, whence also Hebr. מַלְפָּפָה 'hammer' (read מַלְפָּפֹת 'hatchet, axe,' Psalm 74, 6). An Indogermanic derivation is given by Möhl in *Mém. de soc. ling.* VII 389 ff. Of the same value is the etymology of *διάβολος*, in the meaning of 'satan,' from *zebūl* or *zebūb* in *Ba'alzebūl* or *Be'elzebūb*. In the Old Testament there occurs only *Ba'alzebūb* (1 Kings i) as the name of the *Ba'al* of Ekron, the averter of insects. *Beelzebūl* occurs several times in the New Testament, being equivalent perhaps with בְּעֶלְזְבוּל 'Ba'al of

the heavenly tower' = עֶזְרָא , Phoenician $\text{Beelšāmūn}^1 = \text{κύριος οὐρανοῦ}$. Whether Beelzeboúl really denotes the 'chief of the evil spirits' is an open question; and, even if it should have this meaning, it is hard to see why the Greeks should have adopted only the second part of the word and transformed it into διάβολος . The change of z to δ would not be so very strange, for we have tophadius (late Latin) for topazus ; the corresponding transition from δ to z , especially in the form zabulus , is very widely distributed from Commodian (in Palestine?) to the Irish Books of Kells and Durrow (*Studia Biblica*, II 321). I would call attention also to the controversy on *Typhon-Zephon* between O. Gruppe and E. Meyer (*Philologus*, 48, 487 and 762). Máragdos , σμάραγδος and Skt. *marakata* are both borrowed from the Hebrew מַרְקָת and מַרְקָת (!); so Keller (p. 192), who cannot see why Aug. Müller (Bezz. Beitr. I 280-81) considers μάραγδος , etc., as of Indogermanic origin. The fact is that the Sanskrit was borrowed independently by the Phoenicians and the Greeks, the Phoenicians writing bārēkdth for marekdth , with analogy to Sem. בָּרַק 'to shine, glitter,' while the Greeks adopted μάραγδος , which, influenced by Greek σμάω , begot a by-form σμάραγδος (Latin *smaragdus*).

That βοιά , βόα 'pomegranate' has no connection with רִמּוֹן has been known to every Semitic student since 1877. The Cyprian form βυνδία , of which Keller makes no mention, debars all possibility of deriving the Greek from the Semitic. Greek νέτωπον , νετώπιον from Hebr. נֶטֶפֶח is very doubtful (Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, II 357; A. Wiedemann, *Herodot's zweites Buch*, p. 30); ἀλεκτρον is explained as consisting of al- (= Semitic article) + keter (crown), i. e. 'the fowl with a crown on its head.' Θάψακος , says Keller (p. 199), "zeigt höchst auffallender Weise ein θ entsprechend dem ת , während sonst dem ת vielmehr ein τ entspricht." To explain this he assumes an analogy to the name of the Western city Θάψος or the plant θάψος ; but we have here a metathesis of aspiration, Θάψακος for Τάψαχος ; the companions of Xenophon changed $\text{Τάψαχος} = \text{תַּפְסַח}$, the halting place where the Phoenician caravans crossed the Euphrates (cf. Assyrian tapšaxu 'resting place') into Θάψακος on the analogy of Δάμψακος , which stands for $\text{Δάψακος} > \text{Δαψαχος} = \text{לַפְסַח} =$ at the ford across the Hellespont, the initial ל being the same as in Δελυβαῖον (Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, II 261 = לְלוּבַי). Búrša 'a part of Carthage' is not from birthā 'fortress,' but a metathesis of Bequra or Boqra , the earlier name of the city. The guinea-fowl μελεαγρίς was originally a compound of μέλας + ἀργός 'black and white'; its name, our author asserts, was changed to μελεαγρίς after the analogy of the proper name Meleagros, so that it now means the Meleagros-bird; but if so, what becomes of the Old Bactrian *meregha* 'guinea-fowl' from which, according to most authorities, μελεαγρίς was formed? The reference (on p. 206) to Lagarde's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 81, for ἀλώπηξ is misleading and not correct; his later statements in the *Armenische Studien*, 8, No. 63, should be consulted, as well as Curtius' *Studien*, IV 305; KZ. 1, 498; 13, 366; 26, 603; Bezz. Beitr. 10, 294; 13, 315 and 15, 135; G. Meyer in *Indogerm. Forschungen*, 1, 328; and W. Meyer-Lübke's note on *lupus*: λύκος in *Abhandlungen Schweizer-Sidler gewidmet*, p. 17, is of the greatest importance. Keller's remark on ἱεραξ —*sacer* is almost exactly like Hehn's on p. 486, note 72, of his famous book; Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, II 252, however, derives *sacer* from Arabic سَاقِر . *Amaltheia* is derived (p. 225) from עֲמַלְתַּי (i. e.

¹ For Beelšāmūn cf. Schröder, *Phönizische Sprache*, 131, 2.

māldt, not *mālath*, which every Semitic student would consider as equivalent to מָלַח 'to save'; but here again I must say that this is the meaning of the Piel, while the Qal means 'to escape.' For the correct etymology of ἀνδράποδον I refer Keller and his readers to Lagarde's *Baktrische Lexicographie*, 23, rem. 1. Not only is *Pelagos* derived from Hebrew פֶּלֶג 'canal,' Middle High German *bulge* being completely ignored; *Persephone* from פֶּרִי-צֶפֶן (!) 'the fruit of the hidden,' i. e. 'Frucht des im Boden verborgen gewesenen Samenkorns,' but also *Heracles* from the Hebrew רָכַל 'to go around and about' + article *ha*. Truly, one is reminded of the early days of Assyriology when H. Fox Talbot (*Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* II 33) derived Διόνυσος from the Assyrian *dān nīše* 'judge of the nations,' an epithet of the Sun-god Šamaš, pronounced by him *diyan nise*, or Hades (ib., p. 188), from *Bit Edi* or *Bit Hadi*; but there is no such word in Assyrian; the ideographic expression being KUR NU-GI-A = *erit lā tīrat* 'the land whence no return.'

I have only touched on a few points in the second part of Keller's book, a thorough criticism of which would fill a volume of about the same size as the book itself. To this part I shall return again in a special treatise on 'Semitic words in the Greek and Latin languages,' to be published in vol. XXIII of the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*.

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

Kleine Schriften von Heinrich Ludolf Ahrens: erster Band. Zur Sprachwissenschaft, besorgt von CARL HAEBERLIN, mit einem Vorwort von O. CRUSIUS. Hannover, Hahn'sche Buchhandlung, 1891. xv, 584. Price 16 Marks.

In these latter days, when the ancient reign of the classics is molested on every hand, it may seem a hazardous thing to adventure a volume of collected essays dating in part from the first half of the century. Greek has been voted a protected commodity by the Senate of the University of Cambridge, one of whose sons has taken up arms, whetted by his study of Aristotle, against the further supremacy of the language of the philosopher; in America, as we all know, we have our own battle to fight; and even in Germany we hear regrets for the old times. The number of students of Greek and Latin at the gymnasia and the universities there has, if we are correctly informed, sensibly diminished within the past decade; and Caesar has now entered the lists against the dominion of the old-time studies. While the devoted adherents of Greek are convinced by the continual disclosure of new treasures of art and literature that they were never better fitted to understand and proclaim the lessons of the eternal Hellenic spirit, the world at large, it must be confessed, has grown somewhat impatient of the part Greek has played in our system of education.

In taking up this first selection of the works of Ahrens it seems as if his shade would not rest, but arose to ask of his few surviving contemporaries:

ὦ πιστὰ πιστῶν, ἡλικίης θ' ἡβῆς ἐμῆς,

Πέρσαι γεραίροί, τίνα πόλις ποιεῖ πόνον;

Ahrens was not only a great investigator, he was a great teacher. No one but a great teacher could have infused vitality into his theory that instruction in Greek should begin with the beginnings of its literature, and that its study

should advance together with the development of the language until it reached the perfected form wrought by the master-workers of the Attic dialect. Ahrens was by inheritance a great teacher. He was the pupil of Otfried Müller, and at the Lyceum in Hanover he trained many pupils who have since won for themselves an honorable place in the history of classical philology. It is due to the loyalty of one of these pupils, Otto Crusius, now professor at Tübingen, that we are at last placed in a position to survey at least a part of the scientific activity of his master. We are also indebted to Dr. C. Haeberlin, to whom was entrusted the carrying out of Prof. Crusius' plan. Dr. Haeberlin has fulfilled his laborious task in a highly acceptable manner by verifying the references, infixing the pagination of the original publications and supplying convenient indices.

Ahrens was born early enough to have drawn his inspiration from the encyclopaedic instruction of the early leaders of philology, who were still under the influence of Wolf, early enough to have felt the stimulus of the first linguistic researches of Bopp; but at a time when he was freed from the temptation to divorce literature from language. To the end he was always pressing forward to keep pace with the investigations of younger generations of scholars. That he did not leave behind him a greater number of masterpieces is due in part to this restless activity, and in part to the requirements in the form of 'programmes' and addresses exacted of the practical school-teacher, the pathos of whose lot speaks out with such intensity in the recently published *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik* of Hatzidakis. Of the one hundred titles of Ahrens' works collected by Haeberlin, fully a fifth is the outcome of his practical duties as an educator of youth, which he remained to the last.

Of Ahrens' joint pursuit of the study of classical antiquity and of comparative philology, the chief result, beyond all question, was the *De Graecae linguae dialectis*, published only ten years after its author obtained his doctor's degree at Göttingen (1829) and in the year immediately following upon that which witnessed the appearance of the well-known tractate *Ueber die Conjugation auf μ im homerischen Dialekte*. It has been the singular fortune of the work on the Greek dialects that it held its ground uncontested by any rival for nearly forty years, despite, perhaps even because of the enormous increase of material illustrative of the subject. It is only recently that a part of the *Dialects* reappeared in a second edition under the care of Meister, to whom it was entrusted by its author shortly before his death; while no small part of the legacy of opportunity bequeathed by Ahrens to his successors still remains unclaimed. A comprehensive treatise on Ionic, a dialect of greater literary interest than Doric or Aiolic, which engaged Ahrens in the first two and only volumes of the *Dialects*, still does not exist. Of Ahrens' great work this is not the place to speak. It is one of those pioneering yet enduring works, one of those classical treatises in the history of philology which deserve, as Crusius well says, a place on the same shelf as Wolf's *Prolegomena* and Hermann's *Elementa*.

A striking feature of Ahrens' scientific activity is the emphasis he laid upon the study of the poetical monuments. Whether as an investigator of language or as a critical student of literature, he dealt with Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Epicharmus, Sophron, the melic and elegiac poets. The tragic poets were, it

is true, not a subject for special investigation with him. But Aeschylus he studied much, and besides the papers on the Agamemnon in the *Philologus* for 1860, he wrote reviews of Bamberger's *Choephoroe*, Schoemann's *Prometheus*, and Franz' *Oresteia*. Nor is there manifest any lack of interest in mythology. Yet there is scarcely a single product of his pen dealing with Greek prose literature as such. Had Ahrens embraced Ionic in his researches, we should doubtless have heard his views on the question of the origin of Attic prose. The Ionisms of tragedy and Thucydides, though few in number, must bring close home to every one the problem of the influence exerted by Ionic upon the rise of Attic as an organ of literature. Throughout his life, so long as he occupied himself with the dialects, Ahrens gave, almost of necessity, greater scope to Doric and Aeolic; and thus was easily led in time to that closer study of Theocritus which resulted in the edition of 1850 (of which there have been seven unchanged impressions) and in the larger work of 1855-59.

Next to the *Dialects*, Ahrens' *Theocritus* is the work by which he is best known and by which his fame is ensured. The *Theocritus* is still the most exhaustive critical edition that we possess. In it, as elsewhere, Ahrens exhibited that fine sense of proportion which recognized as a characteristic virtue of Greek literature the subtle interrelation between the literary dialect and the ordinary speech of the people. The imperishable treatise that has taught us more than any other single contribution to the subject—*Ueber die Mischung der Dialekte in der griechischen Lyrik*—showed us that it is art, not the casual affinities of the individual, which regulates the delicate shading of dialectal speech in Greek literature. Greek literature, in one point at least, is unlike other literatures. From Homer till the latest period in which the literary genius of the Greeks was creative, the dialects were more or less commingled in poetry. In fact there exists scarcely any branch of the poetic art which did not consciously intervein one dialect with another. Now it is not to the renown of Ahrens that he admitted the existence of dialect admixture (Hermann had long before him seen the facts and attempted a solution of their interrelation), but that he found the law of permanence of literary type as expressed in dialectal language, i. e. that the various branches of the poetic art did not abandon the dialect in which they started. That in the existing monuments this principle is everywhere carried out may perhaps be denied. Yet in its essential features it still holds good, despite the recent assaults upon it by Fick. Ahrens avoided the dangers on either hand. In the inscriptions, though they record the actual usage of the time and are free from the suspicion of corruption at the hands of blundering scribes or of sciolists, he refused to see an absolute standard to control MS tradition. Nor, on the other hand, did he fail to recognize the fact that without epigraphy palaeography may starve. Ahrens would have rejected Fick's theory of the absolute authoritativeness of purely inscriptional testimony; and wondered at the supersensitiveness of Fritzsche's musico-philological ear. Fritzsche thought that the minute shades of feeling expressed in Theocritus' use, now of an epic, now of a Doric or an Aiolian form, were to be apprehended only by the critic whose soul was attuned to this harmony of language, and in the same manner as it may apprehend the subtle variations in the last three measures of Beethoven's *Symphony in a dur*.

In the present volume there is a goodly number of epigraphical essays.

Most noteworthy is the well-known treatise on the Kyprian inscriptions, which still possesses a distinct value of its own. There are also commentaries on inscriptions from Olympia (Roehl 75, 112, 113), and a treatise on Lakonian. The dialect of the bucolic poets is represented only by the caustic review of Mühlmann's *Leges dialecti qua Graecorum poetae bucolici uti sunt*.

Ahrens was undoubtedly stronger on the side of systematic grammar than of etymology. To work in etymology before the last quarter of this century was often a difficult and a dangerous thing. Ahrens suffered shipwreck on the rock of proper names. The lengthy treatise *Ueber eine wichtige indogermanische Familie von Götternamen* can add nothing to his fame. The name of Poseidon has been discussed with better results by Pott and, in later times, by Prellwitz, than in the essay *Ueber den Namen des Poseidon*, though nowhere do we find a greater wealth of illustrative material. Other papers of an etymological character are: 'Pā, *Beitrag zur gr. Etymologie und Lexicographie*; *Δύλη* und *Villa*; *Ein Beitrag zur Etymologie der gr. Zahlwörter*; *Etymologische Untersuchungen zum Homer* (1. *ἀπανράω, ἐπανρίσκω, ἐρώ*; 2. *ῥύομαι, ἐρύομαι, εἰρύομαι, σός, οὔρος, Ὀραι*; 3. *Einiges über die sogenannte Distraction*; 4. *ἔισαι, ἀμφιέλισσαι, ἔλικες*); *Δρύς* und seine Sippe.

For the history of language and the study of prehistoric civilization it is imperative that the choice and use of words to denominate parts of the body and other common things be followed through the various languages. Ahrens set the type for this species of investigation in the treatise published shortly before his death: *Die gr. und lat. Benennungen der Hand* (Teubner, 1879). This work was of too great an extent to be incorporated in this volume.

There can be no question that as a student of the formal side of grammar Ahrens must hold a very high place. It is astonishing how much is still correct in his *Conjugation in μ* im homerischen Dialekte, dedicated to Otfried Müller in 1838. The *Formenlehre des homerischen und attischen Dialektes* is still serviceable, though the rapid advance of Homeric investigation along the lines laid down in part by Ahrens himself has rendered much out of date. Some time ago the reviewer was struck by the occurrence of *ἦρα* in Herodas. Lucius' recent treatise on *Crisis and Aphaeresis* contains nothing on the question, but Ahrens, *De Crasi*, p. 60, gave an explanation of the form, to which that of Brugmann has been forced to yield. In the treatise *On the Hand* before mentioned, Ahrens anticipated Wackernagel's explanation of the form *ἐαυρον* (*K. Z. XXVII 279*).

Of the grammatical treatises we may notice especially the Homeric excurses which deal i. a. with the gen. in -οο, the gemination of initial ν, *Τρωαί, Τρωάς, Τρωός, Τροίη*, the lengthening of short final syllables in the hexameter (four papers), and with certain legitimate species of hiatus. There is also a treatise on hiatus in the older elegiac poets. The discussion of the feminines in ω has not lost its interest, despite the more recent investigation of the question by Danielsson and Johannes Schmidt. Here, as always, Ahrens supports his view with a wealth of illustration from literature, the inscriptions, and the grammarians which he knew equally well with the Königsbergers. Ahrens' erudition was in fact rivalled only by that of Lobeck. No one who has not himself worked his way into the enormous mass of grammatical literature can fail to be amazed at Ahrens' unwearied patience, firm grasp, and critical insight.

It is needless to say that the treatises collected in this volume cannot claim the place they once enjoyed. *Dies diem docet*. We have learned that phonetic 'law' is more rigorous in its requirements than was imagined by the leaders of the past generation. The days of wonderment at the correlation of ordinary Greek and Latin forms has long gone by. But whatever the errors of Ahrens, all that he did bears the impress of a profound worker who left nothing neglected that might contribute its light to the discovery of the truth. For that reason these memorials of his life will always repay reading even by the most advanced specialist.

The matter collected in the first volume of the *Kleine Schriften* deals with certain aspects of those grammatical studies which have always proved attractive to American philologists. Prof. Crusius tells us that the publication of the second and concluding volume must depend upon the reception accorded to this. Will not American scholars support the devotion of Ahrens' pupil and the enterprise of the publisher in an undertaking which at best cannot prove highly remunerative, that they and others may possess a collection of essays dealing with the broader aspects of classical culture?

HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

Livy. Books I and II. Edited with Introduction and Notes, by J. B. GREENOUGH. Boston and London, Ginn & Co., 1891.

Mr. Greenough's latest contribution to classical scholarship gives abundant evidence that its author has performed no perfunctory task, but has had before him certain definite ideals. The leading feature of the book is the endeavor to assist the student in grasping Livy's thoughts in the form and order in which the historian himself presents them. Great pains are taken to indicate the proper 'thought-perspective' of a complex idea, that the student may clearly discern what is emphatic and what is subordinate in the Latin sentence. The editor has on many previous occasions effectively urged this principle as one of prime importance in the study of Latin. In the present work he has gone further. With admirable skill and judgment he has so analyzed example after example of Livy's thought as to impress clearly upon the reader what it means to read Latin as Latin is written.

Mr. Greenough's own special tastes and studies have naturally led him to emphasize matters of language much more prominently than history or antiquities. In the two latter departments more might well have been given. Even Mommsen is but rarely cited, and there is no reference to the suggestive views of Ihne concerning the character of the early history of Rome. The general impression conveyed by the historical notes is that the whole history, of the regal period at least, is so uncertain that it is useless to undertake to arrive at any rational views concerning it. Even with regard to so well-determined a fact as the right of intermarriage between the inhabitants of different states, Mr. Greenough has no more positive declaration to make than that "*it seems* to have been carefully guarded among the ancients" (p. 30).

In the grammatical notes, as a rule, no statement is made of the principle involved, but a simple reference to the grammar is given. It is questionable whether this method is a wise one to follow. Wherever the grammatical

principle involved is of sufficient importance to receive notice, it would seem to be worth while to give at least the gist of it in the commentary, with an accompanying reference to the grammar for fuller information.

In a number of instances the editor, in aiming at brevity and compactness of statement, has given too little help. Some passages of real difficulty are thus dismissed with but a word of comment, which will fail to satisfy the reflecting student. Thus on i. 9. 13 the interpretation (apparently the editor's own) of *incusantes violati hospitii foedus*: "accusing their HOSTS (properly the implied agreement made by their hosts)," is eminently unsatisfactory. It ought to be supplemented at least by some fuller explanation, if not by a statement of other interpretations that have been advanced concerning this puzzling passage. The freshman is a rational creature, and it is often good policy to endeavor to encourage his critical faculty by allowing him to choose between different explanations of a passage. Thus, in the sentence just referred to, the words *per fas ac fidem* are interpreted "by a pretence of piety and good faith." Yet Weissenborn, in his note on this passage, has made exceedingly plausible another interpretation, by which *per* is taken as retaining one of its primitive meanings, viz. *contrary to*, like the Greek *παρά*, with which (as another form of the same root) it is properly identified. Latin *perjurium* can hardly be explained on any other theory. Cf. Greek *παράνομος*, adduced by Curtius, *Grundzüge*⁵, p. 269, who also recognizes this force of *per* in Latin. Cf. also Lat. *perfidus* (*per fidem*) with Greek *παράσπονδος* (*παρὰ σπονδάς*). In Plautus, *Mostellaria* 500, and elsewhere, the phrase *per fidem* clearly demands the interpretation suggested.

In the note on *non operae est*, i. 24. 6, it is gratifying to note the correct interpretation of a passage often wrongly taken. But it would have been much better if the editor, instead of a general reference to Plautus (which few students will appreciate), had cited some of the other instances in Livy where the expression occurs, as iv. 8. 3, v. 15. 6, and observed that the context in each case bears out the interpretation here given. Moreover, we miss the explanation of the case-construction—whether genitive or dative—a matter upon which the student might fairly expect further light.

On i. 45. 6, *praefuit*, occurs the note that Livy often uses *prae* for *praeter* in composition. A citation of one or two of these instances, which are easily found, might be *à propos*.

On i. 24. 5, *fraude*, the right explanation, 'harm,' is undoubtedly given. But if *fraude* is taken with this objective force, some explanation ought to be offered of the apparently anomalous use of *mea* as objective genitive. Here again Livy might well be illustrated from his own pages. Cf. xli. 23. 8 *Cum ferae bestiae cibum ad fraudem suam positum plerumque adspersentur*.

In several places greater clearness might easily be attained. Thus in the note on i. 32. 12, *duello*: "old form of *bello*; cf. *bis* from *duo*," *bis* should be explained as for **du-is*, with reference to the analogous *τρίς*. So also on i. 4. 4 the almost inevitable inference from Mr. Greenough's note is that *mergi* with its subject *infantes* is used as the logical subject of *posse* employed impersonally, which is, of course, false.

In the Praefatio 9 the note on *deinde*, 'the second moment,' in the sense of the second consideration, seems a reminiscence of Weissenborn's "die einzelnen Momente."

Occasionally an inaccuracy has been noted. Thus on i. 6. 3 the explanation of *nomine* as ablative of separation is certainly to be rejected. The only rational explanation of the word in the present instance is as an ablative of instrument. The expression *ab nomine* in i. 23. 3, cited by the editor, represents an entirely different conception and is chronologically later than the construction of the simple ablative.

The substructions referred to on i. 12. 6 cannot fairly be claimed as those of the Temple of Jupiter Stator. There is no evidence in favor of this view sufficient to warrant a positive statement.

The punctuation is faulty in two important instances in the Praefatio, viz. in 9 after *auctum imperium sit*, and in 10 after *intueri*. In both places a comma stands, where all other editors, in conformity with the sense, punctuate with the semicolon or colon. As the passages involved are of special difficulty, the oversight is likely to mislead the student.

An excellent introduction to the book is provided, touching upon Livy's life and the sources and style of his work, but one notes the lack of indexes at the close of the volume, although other books of the series, as Allen's *Annals of Tacitus* and Kellogg's *Brutus*, are furnished with these useful accompaniments.

The foregoing incidental strictures, however, are not of serious import. The book in its main features, as has already been indicated, has much to commend it, and will be gratefully received by classical teachers.

CHAS. E. BENNETT.

A Grammar of the Old Persian Language, with the Inscriptions of the Achæmenian Kings and Vocabulary, by HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN, Ph.D. Boston, Ginn & Co., 1892.

According to the announcement of the publishers, "This is the first complete grammar of the language that has ever been published either in this country or in Europe," a statement which is hardly correct, unless greater stress is laid on the title than on the contents of a book. For the actual treatment of the grammar is much less complete than may be found in Bartholomæ's *Handbuch der altiranischen Dialekte* in conjunction with Avestan grammar, or together with the texts of the inscriptions in *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften* of Spiegel. It is especially with the last-named work, as covering essentially the same ground and being in its second edition the manual most used at present, that Dr. Tolman's book invites comparison. The latter contains as a special feature a full list of the verb-forms of Old Persian, and in the vocabulary comparisons are given from a larger field than is the case with Spiegel, who restricts himself to the Aryan languages. In other respects Spiegel's work is far more complete. This in itself is not necessarily to the disadvantage of Dr. Tolman's grammar. For example, we have no serious objection to a boiling down of Spiegel's detailed account of the discovery and decipherment of the inscriptions, interesting reading though it be, but think it rather curious that the author finds space to cite the article of Dr. Beer in the *Hallische Allgemeine Literaturzeitung*, 1838, and yet has not a word to say of the labors of Rawlinson in this field. But it is in the body of the work, the grammar, text and vocabulary, where we have a right to expect a great advance over

Spiegel, that we are disappointed to find rather a step backward. Spiegel's work was always weak in many particulars, and, moreover, in the ten years which have elapsed since the publication of his second edition, no small progress has been made in the interpretation of the text and the grammatical explanation of individual forms. The articles on the subject are scattered in various journals, and it is the first requirement of a new work of a general nature that it should take account of all such investigations and incorporate their results. Unfortunately, these recent investigations seem to be wholly unknown to our author. The vocabulary contains all the mistakes of Spiegel, even such as have long been recognized on all sides as absolutely absurd; for example, the reading *tuvm* instead of *tuam*. In the list of verb-forms and in the vocabulary we find a root *aj* = Skr. *aj* given, though the single form on the strength of which Spiegel sets this up—namely, *patiyajatā*—is to be referred to *jan* = Skr. *han*, and corresponds exactly to Skr. (*praty*)*ahata*, as was shown by Hübschmann, Kuhn's Zeitschrift, 23, p. 397, and rediscovered by Friedr. Müller, Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes, III, p. 148. Moreover, Dr. Tolman reads in his transcription of the text *Patiyajata*, as if it were a proper name, but we suppose this is merely a misprint. The existence of a root *kh̥si* (*khshi*) is as precarious as that of *aj*, for the form *patiyakh̥siy* is to be referred to the root *akh̥s* = Av. *akh̥s* 'see,' with *aiwi* 'oversee, rule.' It would require too much space to give all the instances in which recent investigations are ignored. In one case an old error which is corrected in Spiegel's second edition is retained by our author—namely, the reading of the name of Darius as *Dārayavu-š* instead of *Dārayava(h)u-š* (second element of the compound = Skr. *vasu*), as was first proposed by Lindner, Literar. Centralblatt, 1880, p. 358, and since adopted by both philologists and historians. With this reading the genitive singular (to be transcribed *Dārayavahanūš*) ceases to be anomalous, and the note to declension III in the grammar might have been spared.

But the most reprehensible part of the book is the comparative portion of the vocabulary. Work of this kind must be well done if it is not to be more harmful than otherwise. We do not expect in these days every Sanskrit or Iranian scholar to be equally at home in the field of comparative philology, but we do have a right to demand that when one attempts a comparative vocabulary he should at least consult good authorities. The etymologies in Lanman's Sanskrit reader represented the best opinion of the time, and are so conservative that the number of changes necessary at the present time would be comparatively few. But how far back would one have to go to arrive at a period when such wonderful etymologies as the following would pass muster? *aita*: Lat. *iste*, Goth. *tha*, Eng. *the*. *aniya*: Lat. *alius*. *upa*: Germ. *ob*. *patiy*: Skr. *prati*, Zend *paiti*, "Lat. *re*, *red* as in *refero*, *reddo*; *prae*; *por*, *pol*, *pos* for *port*, as in *porrigo*, *pollus*, *possideo*." It would have been shorter and equally correct to say simply "every Lat. preposition containing either *p* or *r* or both." Under *bumi* 'ground, earth,' Skt. *bhūmi*, we find *humus* given as the Latin equivalent. To be sure, if one looks merely at outward resemblance, the connection of *humus* with *bumi* seems quite irresistible, with Av. *zemō*, Gr. *χαμαί*, or Gothic *gum*, on the contrary, incredible, yet it is the latter connection only which can be justified by the phonological laws. Under *band* we find Lat. *filum*, *funis*, *pendo*; under *darš* = Skt. *dṛṣ* 'dare' is given Lat. *fortis*,

which, of course, can only be referred to Skr. *dṛh* 'make firm.' An interesting mosaic is the article "*aiva* 'one,' Skr. *eka*; Zend *aeva*; Lat. *aequus*; Goth. *ha* in compounds, as *haihs* for *haiha* 'one-eyed,' *halts* for *ha-lta*, 'lame,' *halbs* for *ha-lba* 'half,' Eng. halt, half." It would be useless to enumerate more such instances. I have noted over twenty words for which the cognates given are partially or wholly wrong, and for such a limited vocabulary this is an inexcusably large proportion. Errors of omission which do less positive harm are not wanting. For example, the author follows Spiegel in giving a root *ras*, and seems unaware of the fact, first pointed out by Bartholomae, that this is nothing but the inchoative form of the root Skr. *ṛ*, *ar*, the form *rasatiy* corresponding exactly to Skr. *ṛcchdti*. Under *didā* 'castle' (better 'fortification') no cognate is given, though the word occurs in another ablaut form in Sanskrit (*dehī* 'wall'), German (*deich*) and English (*dike*), not to mention Gr. *τειχος*, *τοιχος*, Osc. *felhuiss*, Armen. *dēz*. The general impression made by the 'grammar' is that the author has undertaken the work without adequate preparation. However, the price is low, and in the hands of a competent teacher the book might possibly be made of use.

CARL D. BUCK.

REPORTS.

REVUE DE PHILOGIE. Vol. XIII.

No. 1.

1. Pp. 1-24. Am. Hauvette discusses the method of Herodotus as a geographer, and his attitude towards the Ionian geographers. The article is chiefly a defence of Herodotus against the adverse views of Hugo Berger.

2. P. 24. In Plaut. Poen. 1415 Louis Havet proposes *ei minores* for *ei maiores* (MSS *eimores*).

3. Pp. 25-31. Critical notes by Max Bonnet on Seneca De Remediis Fortuitorum.

4. P. 31. O. R. emends Tac. Ann. IV 40, *ad te invito te*.

5. Pp. 32-44. J.-B. Mispoulet investigates the turbot story, Juv. Sat. IV. He shows that the assembly called was not the senate, but the emperor's council. He doubts whether the story was an invention of the poet, or was current among the people, whether true or false. There is no historical reference to it extant.

6. Pp. 44-46. Henri Weil rejects the theories of Otto Crusius and Friedrich Spiro concerning the *σύνπλεκτοι ἀνάπαιστοι*, and reiterates his opinion (published in the *Revue Critique*, 1875, I, p. 150) that they are made up of anapaestic *monometers catalectic*.

7. Pp. 47-50. Émile Thomas discusses the causes of Ovid's banishment. He rejects the prevalent theory, seemingly on good grounds, and thinks Augustus may have desired to get rid of one whose life might, after all, not be so different from his poetry, and that an opportunity may have been offered by some connexion of the poet with a little escapade of one of the young princes.

8. Pp. 51-65. R. Cagnat produces convincing evidence that not only for Christian inscriptions on tombs were there formularies, as has been shown by Le Blant, but also such formularies existed for pagan Latin inscriptions.

9. P. 65. Louis Havet emends Plaut. Pers. 181.

10. Pp. 66-73. Paul Tannery discusses critically Clementis Alex. Stromat. I 104; Nicomachi Introd. Arith. I 1; Censorinus, De die natali, XVIII 10; Frontinus, De aquis urbis Romae, I 32; Scholia in (Eucl.) Elementorum librum IX (Heiberg, V, p. 412); Procli Diadochi in primum Euclidis Elementorum librum commentarii, five passages.

11. Pp. 74-78. C. Thiaucourt, in a letter addressed to O. Riemann, defends Tacitus against the charges based by Dubois-Guchan and others upon Agricola, ch. 45. The *nos* of this passage means *we Romans*. He was probably absent from Rome when Helvidius, Rusticus and Senecio were punished. In ch. 2

legimus means neither *we read* (pres.) nor *we have read*, but *we read* (past), that is, *learned from letters*.

12. Pp. 78-80. Th. Reinach, accepting the results of Louis Havet's investigation of Verg. Aen. VI 601 ff. (Rev. de Phil. XII, p. 145 ff.), points out a minor error. It was not Sisyphus that rolled the rock, but Pirithous. Vergil transfers the punishments familiar in Greek mythology to other characters. That of Ixion he could not change because he had referred to it in the Georgics (III 38 f.). Those err who find a contradiction between VI 122 (and 393) and VI 617 f. In the former an event before the death of Theseus is meant.

13. Pp. 81-84. J. Baillet gives a rhythmical analysis of the Menchieh Paean, published in the Revue Archéologique, 1889, No. 1, and compares it with the fragments of the Asclepieion Paean.

14. P. 85. O. R. shows that when *que* connects an adjective qualified by *tam* with a preceding intensive adjective, the usage of Cicero in his Orations is represented by these formulae:

- (a) Tot tam variaeque virtutes, *or* virtutes tot tamque variae.
- (b) Tantus tam immensusque, *or* tantus tamque immensus.
- (c) Tam insignis tamque atrox.

15. Pp. 86-87. O. R. corrects an inaccuracy in the notes of Madvig and of Holstein on Cic. De Fin. VI 19 ff., relating to minimum possible magnitudes.

16. Pp. 87-88. É. Boutroux makes further remarks on the preceding subject (15).

17. Pp. 88-96. Book Notices. (1). O. R. favorably criticises Liv. XXI-XXV, edited by Aug. Luchs, 1888. (2). O. R. gives an account of the progress and character of the revision of Neue's Formenlehre, by C. Wagener. (3). O. R. presents a table of contents of Mueller's Handbuch, voll. III, V 1, VII. He complains that in vol. VII many important French works are neglected, such as Charles Graux's Philon, Tournier's Sophocles, Croiset's Thucydides, etc.

No. 2.

1. Pp. 97-117. Jules Martha, accepting the transposition made by Louis Havet in Verg. Aen. VI (Rev. de Phil. XII, p. 115 ff.), brings further proofs in its support, and discusses the origin of the Phlegyas episode, for which Vergil, or rather a painter whose picture misled him, was responsible.

2. P. 117. O. R. emends Q. Curtius, VI 10, 9.

3. Pp. 118-28. Alfred Jacob points out numerous instances in which there are inconsistencies in the dates of MSS, the error sometimes being in the number of the year, sometimes in that of the indiction, or the month, or the day of the month or of the week. It usually happens that the error can be detected and corrected.

4. P. 128. O. R. calls attention to οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ = ἰσως οὐ, as Plat. Rep. III 414 c, οὐ γεγονὸς οὐδ' οἶδ' εἰ γυνόμενον ἄν.

No. 3.

1. Pp. 129-32. Theodor Mommsen discusses an inscription excavated at Forum Clodii.

2. P. 132. O. R. remarks that *inter* = *between* is often put after the first noun, sometimes almost necessarily.
3. Pp. 133-36. J.-B. Dutilleul treats of the superlatives formed by *per*. They belong chiefly to the vulgar language.
4. Pp. 137-39. Louis Havet emends Cic. Nat. Deor. II 120 and Plaut. Aul. 423, 430, Bacch. 1082.
5. Pp. 140-41. Max Bonnet critically discusses Senec. Suas. 6 and Controv. 2, 3.
6. Pp. 141-42. L. Duvau makes critical remarks on Fulventius, Expos. Serm. Ant. 52; Tac. Dial. de Or. 1 and 9; and an old German glossary giving *imbreus* = *reginuum* (Regenwurm).
7. Pp. 143-50. Paul Tannery critically discusses the so-called Εὐδόξου τέχνη, which he maintains (with Latronne) was really the Οὐράνιος διδασκαλία Λεπτίων, a didactic poem greatly modified by some one for his own use.
8. P. 150. O. R. adds a note on (*in*) *toto orbe terrarum* (cf. XII, p. 178 ff.)
9. Pp. 151-54. Critical notes by L. Duvau on the grammarian Virgilius Maro.
10. P. 154. Ruelle shows how ΦΝΑ got changed to ΧΝΑ in Olympiodorus on Plat. Alcib. I 113 c.
11. Pp. 155-58. Critical discussion of Cic. Brut. 119-21, by Jules Martha.
12. Pp. 159-60. Book Notices. (1). Dutilleul describes and commends Franz Fugner's Liv. XXI-XXII, 1888, but finds some defects. (2). A. J. briefly describes F. B. Jevon's History of Greek Literature, and (3) commends La lingua Greca antica, di Domenico Pezzi, 1888.

Vol. XIV.

No. 1.

1. Pp. 1-24. An article devoted to the memory of C.-G. Cobet (born Nov. 28, 1813; died Oct. 25, 1889). This article, written by an old pupil of Cobet, H. J. Polak, was first published in the Dutch review *De Gids*, and was translated by Hesselings and Tournier. Though written by a philologist, it is intended rather for general readers, and a *précis* here would not be useful, especially as the editor expresses the hope that the review will some day be able to publish a study of the great Hellenist's labors and influence.
2. P. 24. Note by Louis Havet on Gannius ap. Fest., p. 369.
3. Pp. 25-50. Critical notes on Ennius, by Louis Havet. Half of this valuable article is devoted to an investigation of the anapaests of Ennius.
4. Pp. 51-55. L. Quicherat discusses the 'hypermetric' verses of Vergil. He defends even those with short penultimate syllables (*arbutus horrida* = fifth and sixth feet), but makes no reference whatever to the question of synaphea with elision.
5. Pp. 55-56. S. Dosson corrects the *Antibarbarus* with regard to the use of *-que*, *-ve*, *-ne* after short *e*.

6. Pp. 57-60. Médéric Dufour shows that *ὅς, οἷος, ὅσος* are not very rarely used as indirect interrogatives.

7. Pp. 60-61. Alfred Jacob emends Plut. Sull. 28, 1; 35, 5.

8. Pp. 61-62. Joseph Chamonard emends Cic. Ad Fam. VIII 4, 2.

9. P. 62. Louis Havet emends Cic. Ad Fam. VII 4, 3.

10. Pp. 63-70. Remarks on various questions of Latin syntax, by O. Riemann (continued from XII, p. 43 and 176).

I. Est aliquid *argumento, damno*, etc. A large list of examples (but not exhaustive, except for Cicero's Orations and Cornelius Nepos) shows that the dative in this formula is *not* more frequently accompanied by an adjective (without adj. 126, with adj. 26); and when an adj. is used it always relates to quantity (*magnus, maior, maximus, summus, parvus, nullus, tantus, quantus*). Hence in 'esse frugi *bonae*,' *frugi*, despite its long *i*, was originally *frugis*.

II. The *Antibarbarus* incorrectly denies that there is any difference between *prohibere* with the simple abl. and *prohibere* with *ab*. (1) When the meaning is *exclude, debar* (a person from a place or a thing) the simple abl. is nearly always used. (2) When the sense is to *protect from (against)*, we have (a) *prohibere aliquem (aliquid) iniuria* or *ab iniuria*, or (b) *prohibere iniuriam ab aliquo (aliqua re)*.

11. P. 70. Louis Havet explains *Aeoliam* in Martial, II 14, 12.

12. Pp. 71-78. Paul Lejay shows that Guillaume Morel printed his edition of the *Aletheia* of Marius Victor *directly* from No. 7558 (*fonds latin*) in the National Library at Paris.

13. P. 78. Louis Havet repunctuates Juv. VII 99 f.

14. Pp. 79-85. Émile Chatelain points out that the *Regensis* 762 of Livy was written simultaneously by several hands, each having a certain part apportioned to him, and was in turn copied by another set in the same way. Some interesting results of this fact are of importance in textual criticism, especially as other MSS were treated in the same manner.

15. P. 85. O. R. corrects Cic. Ad Fam. 8, 9, 1.

16. Pp. 86-106. Critical notes on Lucilius, by Louis Havet.

17. Pp. 106-7. H. Weil explains a passage in Theophrast. Charact. VII.

18. Pp. 108-110. H. Weil explains Thuc. VI 37, 2, and reads *παρά τισιν* in VI 17, 1.

19. Pp. 111-112. E. Audouin discusses the nature of the gen. with *damnare*.

20. Pp. 113-22. An interesting discussion of the inscriptions on the sarcophagi of the Scipios, by Ed. Wölfflin. He shows that not only in the case of the elder Scipio, but also in that of the younger, the inscription cut in the stone is more recent than the painted one above. It was modelled after the epitaph of Atilius Calatinus (cf. Cic. Fin. 2, 116; Cat. Mai. 61), and both may have been made just after the battle of Zama.

21. Pp. 123-26. C.-E. Ruelle critically discusses a passage of the Neoplatonist Hermias relating to music (Schol. Plat. Phaedr., p. 107 Ast.).

22. P. 126. Critical note on *Oracula Chaldaica*, v. 140, by C.-E. Ruelle.

23. Pp. 127-28. Book Notices. (1). L. D. mentions unfavorably Bastian Dahl's *Latinsk Literaturhistorie* and (2) ridicules Franz Wendorff's *Erklärung aller Mythologie u. s. w.* (3). E. C. pronounces Studemund's *T. Macci Plauti fabularum reliquiae Ambrosianae*, 1889, indispensable for Plautinian critics. (4). Ém. Chatelain severely censures P. Hochart, *De l'authenticité des Annales et des Histoires de Tacite*, 1890.

No. 2.

1. Pp. 129-34. Louis Havet continues his critical notes on Lucilius (see No. 1, p. 86).

2. Pp. 135-45. An account of the MSS of Damascius *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, by C.-E. Ruelle.

3. Pp. 146-50. Th. Reinach discusses the first record we have of a *legatus pro praetore*, Corp. Inscript. Lat. XIV 2218. The inscription relates to an event of the *third* Mithridatic war, not the first.

4. Pp. 150-52. In Theocr. Id. XI 41, *μηνοφόρος*, proposed by Fritzsche, is accepted by Gabriel Colin, but interpreted as referring to incipient horns.

5. P. 152. Brief notice (by L. D.) of *Recherches sur l'origine de la foncière et des noms de lieux habités en France*, by Jubainville and Dottin, 1890.

No. 3.

1. Pp. 153-73. C. Thiaucourt presents a critical study of the history of Hannibal's invasion of Italy down through the battle of Cannae. He maintains that Polybius was among the sources of Livy, but not so closely followed as elsewhere, because his authority was not relatively so high.

2. P. 173. P. Thomas emends Senec. *De Remed. Fort.* 16, 8.

3. Pp. 174-78. Critical notes on Ennius, by Louis Havet.

4. Pp. 178-84. Book Notices. (1). O. R. gives a description of the following works: G. Landgraf, *Untersuchungen zu Caesar und seinen Fortsetzern u. s. w.*, 1888.—C. Asini Pollionis *De bello Africo commentarius*. Recensuerunt, etc., Ed. Wölfflin et Ad. Miodonski, 1889.—G. Landgraf, *Bellum Alexandrinum* 48-64 (*Bericht des C. Asinius Pollio u. s. w.*, 1890). The reviewer believes that Landgraf has shown only that Pollio *may* have written the *De Bello Africo* and the other parts of the continuation of Caesar ascribed to him. (2). O. R. praises O. Keller's *Xenophontis Historia Graeca*, 1890, though he would himself have adopted a slightly different course with the MSS. (3). Médéric Dufour (?) states the conclusions of G. Mayen, *De particulis quod, quia, quoniam, quomodo, ut* pro accusativo cum infinitivo post verba sentiendi et declarandi positae, 1889. A very meritorious contribution to the history of Latin syntax. (4). Médéric Dufour describes Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*. He finds the contents of the work excellent, but objects to the confusion resulting from the combination of two methods, either of which might have been employed more successfully alone. (5). O. R. sums up the results of P. Schmidt, *Ueber den Ursprung des Substantivsatzes mit Relativpartikeln im Griechischen*, 1890.

No. 4 completes the *Revue des Revues*.

MILTON W. HUMPHREYS.

HERMES, 1890.

III.

U. P. Boissevain (Groningen), Ein verschobenes Fragment des Dio Cassius. Dio Cassius, 75, 9, 6, has hitherto been assigned to 199 A. D., by Mommsen (R. G. V 410, 1) to 195. B. now argues that the fragment really gives operations of a much earlier date, in the time of Trajan and Hadrian; that it must be assigned to somewhere between 115-135 at latest. "Considering the extraordinary slenderness of our sources in the epoch both of Trajan and Hadrian as well as of Severus, where every '*Baustein*' available, no matter how insignificant, is of great importance, this fact appeared to me to be of sufficient importance to lay it before the students both of Roman and of Oriental history" (p. 339).

M. Rubensohn, Zur Chronologie des Kaisers Severus Alexander.

O. Hirschfeld, Zur Geschichte des Pannonisch-Dalmatischen Krieges, viz. the war in the last part of the reign of Augustus. Neither Velleius nor Dio Cassius presents a satisfactory statement of this war, so that Hirschfeld, while engaged in editing Dalmatian inscriptions for the C. I. L., has been prompted to review the whole matter. H. gives us the stations of the VIIth and XIth legions in Dalmatia, in places from which a number of inscriptions have come, whereas inscriptions referring to legions VIII, IX, XV, XX are rarely met with, the latter bodies of troops having been withdrawn from Dalmatia immediately after the war. The decisive engagement of Tiberius with the Pannonians probably occurred in 8 A. D. (*Bato* being the leader of the latter), on the river *Bathinus* (possibly = the Bednya, a tributary of the Drave, which enters the Drave S. E. of Warasdin). The triumph of Tiberius, it is true, was not celebrated until four years later, Jan. 16, 12 A. D. It remains impossible to fix precisely the date of the catastrophe of Varus.

O. Hirschfeld, Zur annalistischen Anlage des Taciteischen Geschichtswerkes. Tacitus felt the annalistic plan to be a fetter, though he did not dare to cast it off in the earlier period of his historical work. But, as Nipperdey has pointed out, in the later period he found the constraint unendurable, and in this paper Hirschfeld undertakes to show that the twins borne by Livilla, sister of Germanicus and wife of Drusus (Ann. II 24), should be put 20 A. D.

L. Herbst, Zur Urkunde in Thukyd. V 47, viz. the *σπονδαί* and *ξυμμαχίαι* (or *ξυμμαχία*) between Argos, Elis, Mantinea and Athens. A fragment of this document was identified some time ago in an inscription and published by Kumanudes, Athenaeion, V 333. These mutilated remnants were subsequently compared with the text of the historian by Kirchhoff, Hermes, XII 368 sqq. Noting various differences and discrepancies (omissions, transpositions, abbreviations, faults in the way of dialect, etc.), Kirchhoff advanced to the conclusion—a most grave one, if sound—that in all these matters we are confronted with a corruption of MSS, of very ancient date. The purport of Herbst's paper is, that Thucydides himself directly presented the treaty to his readers in the form now preserved, and that the historian maintained for himself a considerable measure of independence in presentation, and that, too, not in the speeches alone. We moderns, indeed (p. 389), in the reproduction of documents, would not rest content with anything short of being exact in each single letter and

tittle; such diplomatic accuracy as the inscription shows is unknown to Thucydides, who recognizes solely the postulates of his own work as a task of literary art.

E. Maas, *Kallimachos und Kyrene*. The hymn to Apollo implies a blending of Cretan and Arcadian myths in the treatment of Zeus Lykaïos, which fact Maas explains by pointing out corresponding elements of population in the body of citizens of Kyrene. The hymn to Artemis, too, was written for the native city of the poet: it glorifies not the Ephesian Artemis, but 'Artemis of the Islands.' The paper evinces great familiarity with those elements of literature from which our knowledge of that most elusive object of investigation, Greek 'religion,' is derived or derivable.

C. Robert, *Archaeologische Nachlese* (cf. vol. XXII, p. 445 sqq.) IV. Battle of Oinoia [Paus. I 15, 1; X 10, 3], painting in the *Στοὰ ποικίλη*. While it seems very difficult to choose between the 478-431 and the Corinthian war, 394-387, Robert concludes by assigning the painting, in honor of the victory, to 462-458 B. C. V. The killing of the suitors in the *Odyssey*. VI. Zum Fries des Erechtheion. VII. Die delische Archermosinschrift.

A. Piccolomini, of Rome (*Βίος 'Ομήρου*), publishes a life of H. from a MS of the Xth or XIth century of scholia on the first six books of the *Iliad*, a MS which formerly belonged to Muret. This *vita* resembles that in Westermann's *Biogr.* (No. 6 of Homer), but is fuller. The *vita* in the Madrid MS is evidently an abstract or epitome of the one published by Piccolomini.

IV.

H. v. Arnim, *Ein Papyrus der Herculanensischen Bibliothek*. von A. is engaged in preparing a collection of the fragments of the older Stoics. In the course of his labors, sifting the papyri of Herculaneum which are substantially of the Epicurean school, he found fragments of Stoic writings also. These von Arnim here edits as best he can, a task involving considerable supplementing. The fragments suggest a general survey of Stoic doctrine. As to the author, v. Arnim is inclined to believe that it was Chrysippus himself (p. 491). Among the characteristic terms of the Stoic school which occur in the fragments are the following: ἀμάρτημα, ἀξίωμα, ἀπροπτωσία, ἀσυγκατάθετος, ἀτεχνος, διάθεσις, δόξα, δοξάζειν, ἐμπειρία, κατάληψις, κατὰ φύσιν, κρατεῖν scil. τῶν ὁρμῶν or τῶν συγκαταθέσεων, λόγος, τὰ τοῦ λόγου μόρια, τὰ λογικά (scil. ζῶα), πιθανός, πραγματεία, συγκατάθεσις, σύνταξις (τῶν τοῦ λόγου μορίων), φαντασία, ὁ φρόνιμος = ὁ ἀστέιος.

B. Kübler, *Isidorusstudien*. The work of Isidorus of Seville (d. 636 A. D.) discussed is the *Origines* or *Etymologiae*, the articles of which, a kind of cyclopedia, were grouped not alphabetically, but by subject-matter. Kübler discusses particularly book V, which deals with Roman law, and produces readings from a Wolfenbüttel MS of the VIIIth century. Gaius has been worked up considerably; also Paulus, Ulpian, etc., although Kübler holds that these authorities were not used at first hand.¹ The second part of the paper deals

¹ A citation from Paulus liber Sententiarum in Isid. Et. V 26, 1 affords very valuable illustration of N. T. Acts 22, 25, and well repays transcribing: "Lege Julia de vi publica damnatur qui aliqua potestate praeditus civem Romanum antea ad populum nunc imperatorem appellansem necaverit necarive iusserit, torserit, verberaverit, condemnaverit inve publica vincula dari iusserit."—E. G. S.

with extracts from Tertullian de Spectaculis, illustrating by parallel quotation the possibility of textual emendation.

P. Trautwein, Die Memoiren des Dikaïos, eine Quelle des Herodoteischen Geschichtswerkes. The Dikaïos named is the Athenian exile who, in company with Demaratus, saw the column of dust in the Thriasian plain, Her. VIII 65, which he interpreted as an evil omen for the enterprise of their common patron Xerxes. On this, the most slender basis conceivable, Trautwein erects a very ample theory, viz. that a great number of subjects may have been derived from the memoirs of Dikaïos. This literary item *et ipsum* is a conjecture of Trautwein, who pursues his task with cheerful confidence. To this 'source' T. assigns e. g. those portions of the narrative in which Demaratus figures as interlocutor in dialogues with Xerxes, e. g. VII 209. The manner in which T. handles the phrase, VII 3, *ὥς ἡ φάτις μιν ἔχει*, on p. 543 sq., is characteristic. Wecklein and Duncker are depreciated in various ways, because the way in which they read and understand the narrative of Herodotus would render Trautwein's hypothesis precarious, and precarious it seems to be.

G. Busolt, Zur Ergänzung der Attischen Schatzmeisterurkunden, supplementing C. I. Attic. IV 179, A. B.; cf. Thucyd. III 69, 2; 75, 1; 85, 1; 80, 1, and filling in by computation of possible number of letters, etc. The inscription as supplemented is printed on p. 579 sq.

G. Kaibel, Xenophon's Kynēgetikos. A paper full of ripe knowledge and much combination, suggestive and instructive to students of Attic prose literature.¹ Kaibel, by-the-by, claims authenticity even for the Hiero and Agesilaos. The treatise on hunting is *not* a composition of Xenophon's younger years. The most notable part of the treatise is the defence of hunting, at the end, which is turned into an attack upon a class of hedonists: a veiled thrust, Kaibel thinks (p. 584), against Aristippos. K. brings in parallels from Plato, Phaedrus, 250 d, from Isocrates, Panathenaeus, 72, and suggests possible use by Xenophon of Antisthenes' dialogue entitled Heracles. K. also claims to be able to recognize strong resemblance between the conclusion of the Kynēgetikos and passages in Isocrates' *περὶ ἀντιδόσεως*, expressing his belief that Xenophon borrowed from Isocrates: consequently (p. 594), Xenophon did not write the Kyn. before 353 B. C.

B. Keil (Ein Silberinventar des Amphiaraios von Oropos) discusses in detail an inscription published in the *Ἐφημερίς ἀρχαιολογική* of 1889, ἀργυρώματα τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀμφιαράου. The language, apart from a few trifling traces, has abandoned the Boeotian or the Eretrian dialect, exhibits the κοινή. -ει for long ι is the usual mark of a later era. νεικητήριον and νικητήριον occur. The time was probably about 200 B. C. It is instructive to read that, in times antedating the era of this inscription, portions or limbs of the human body, imitated in silver, were presented to the sanctuary (p. 622), probably by those who believed to have been aided by the oracle.

P. Viereck, Das Senatsconsult von Tabae; cf. Bulletin de correspondance hellénique, XIII, p. 503 sqq. Tabae (mod. Dawas) was in Caria, near the frontier of Phrygia, east of Lagina. The community of T. (first mentioned as

¹ See A. J. P. III 199, note.—B. L. G.

opposing the Roman expedition against the Galatians, 189 B. C., Liv. 38, 13) is praised in the decree for its stout resistance to Mithridates (in the first M. war), for which loyal service was accorded them by the dictator, L. Cornel. Sulla (*αὐτοκράτωρ*), which act is ratified by the senate, probably in the first half of 81 B. C.

E. G. SIHLER.

ENGLISCHE STUDIEN. Herausgegeben von DR. EUGEN KÖLBING, Heilbronn. XV Band, 1891.

I.—Julius Zupitza, On Sir Torrent of Portyngale. Emendations and textual notes.

P. Holzhausen, Dryden's Heroic Drama (continued from Eng. Stud. 13, 414-45). This constitutes part of a second instalment devoted to literary criticism, which is here presented under four heads, namely:

1. The materials of Dryden's heroic plays and their sources.
2. The fundamental dramatic idea.
3. The motives of love and honor, and their decisive influence upon the action in the heroic plays.
4. Characterization—subdivided into a consideration of (a) Male characters, (b) Female characters.

Emil Koeppel, The Genuineness of the Visions of Petrarch and Visions of Bellay attributed to Edmund Spenser. Koeppel's conclusions are interesting, and ingeniously supported. The Visions of Petrarch were not translated directly from that author, as has commonly been supposed, but from a version made by Clement Marot. The translation of Du Bellay's Visions in Van der Noodt's volume of 1569 is so faithful that we cannot possibly believe in the theory of an intermediate Dutch translation, from which Van der Noodt professes to have rendered them. Koeppel quotes Grosart *in extenso* on the question of Spenser's authorship, and then resumes. In the Visions of Petrarch, both the version of 1569 and the slight revision of 1591, occurs a rime—that of *floure : endure*—which has not been found elsewhere in Spenser's minor poetry. The four sonnets added to the Du Bellay series in the edition of 1591, and which must therefore be by Spenser's hand, prove that Spenser was a free and sometimes a careless translator from the French. The same observation is confirmed by the examination of his Ruins of Rome, also translated from Du Bellay. But if he was a loose and inexact translator in 1591, how could he have been a faithful one in 1569, as he must have been did he translate the blank verse series in Van der Noodt's volume? Koeppel's words are (I translate): "Can an author at one time translate exactly from a language, with painful adherence to the original and correctly, at another time inexactly and wrongly? Is it credible that he should at one time display a good knowledge of the foreign tongue in question, while at another he reveals small command of it? We could only reply in the affirmative if the faulty work were performed in youth, and the better belonged to the period of his riper age. So far is this from being the case that the translations of 1569 form the basis of the revision by Spenser published in 1591. Hence it results that Spenser cannot be the same person as the translator of 1569. To this must be added that the poems of the Theatre for Worldlings, dated in 1569, show no

traces of the unmistakable coloring of Spenser's diction, while the Visions of Bellay, of the year 1591, reveal its presence quite as unmistakably. Spenser's name is accordingly to be stricken from the list of pre-Shakespeareans who wrote in blank verse, and the Shepherd's Calendar of 1579 is to be regarded as his first extant publication." Finally, Koeppel, after an investigation of the Ruines of Rome, is compelled to admit that the English version of this series is Spenserian, remarking that we are not to look for the 'philological virtue of accuracy' in a youthful and eagerly creative poetic soul.

G. Wendt, Dative and Accusative in English.

The Book Notices have reviews of Siebs' History of the Anglo-Frisian Language, Part I; of the third volume of the Wülker-Grein Library of Old English Prose; of Garnett's Elene, Judith, etc., and of Aitken's Life of Richard Steele.

In the Miscellanea there is a note by J. Ernst Wülfing, on O. E. *wyrðe* (*weorð*) = *dignus* with the dative.

II.—F. Jentsch, The Middle English Romance Richard Cœur de Lion, and its Sources. The romance is found in Weber's Metrical Romances, Vol. II, and is a translation from the French. In Part I of the essay, Jentsch gives an analysis of the poem. Part II is concerned with the sources, which Jentsch discovers to be, in the first rank, the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi (Rer. brit. medii aevi script., Bd. 38¹, London, 1864), and, in a much inferior degree, the chronicles of Roger de Hoveden, Richard of Devizes, Walter de Hemingburgh, and John of Bromton. An earlier form of the romance was consulted by Robert Mannyng of Brunne in making his translation of Peter Langtoft's Chronicle. Other results are that the original romance, probably in the Anglo-Norman dialect, was translated into English in the reign of Edward I. A copy of this translation is in the celebrated Auchinleck MS, and it was in this stage that the romance was used by Robert of Brunne. The differences between the Auchinleck MS and the fuller form of the romance are due to a later redactor, who transposed and added in order to enhance the interest of the story.

E. Kölbing, Collations.

Gregor Sarrazin, The Author of Soliman and Perseda. Sarrazin compares Soliman and Perseda, which is printed in Vol. V of the Hazlitt-Dodsley Collection of Old English Plays, with Kyd's Spanish Tragedy, and reaches the conclusion that the former is a prentice essay of Kyd's. He then attempts to characterize Kyd and present the facts of his biography, scanty though these are. According to Sarrazin, Shakespeare is more under the influence of Kyd than of any other predecessor in the drama, not excepting Marlowe.

R. Thum, Notes on Macaulay's History, VIII. It is one of the inconveniences in the use of Englische Studien that the successive numbers of serial articles are so often separated by a wide interval. The preceding instalment of this paper was printed in Vol. IX, 1886. The next appears *five years later*. Nearly the whole of the author's twenty-two pages is occupied with a discussion of the word *civilisation*, the text of the article being the following quotation from Macaulay: "The scanty and superficial civilisation which the Britons

had derived from their Southern masters was effaced by the calamities of the fifth century."

The Book Notices are omitted.

The *Miscellanea* contains an article by H. Schuchardt on Indo-English, and Notes on Old English Homilies, Second Series, by F. Holthausen.

III.—E. H. Oliphant, *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*.

A. Rambeau, *Phonetics in the Teaching of Languages and German Pronunciation*.

H. Klinghardt, *Swedish Examinations*.

The Book Notices contain reviews of Skeat's *Minor Poems and Legend of Good Women*, by J. Koch; of Tyler's *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, by Max Koch; of Gaedertz' *Old English Stage*, by Ludwig Fränkel; of Bülbring's *Defoe's Compleat English Gentleman*, by Felix Bobertag; and of the *Century Dictionary*, by A. L. Mayhew. Koch complains that Skeat observes no fixed principles in the constitution of his text, and Mayhew has much fault to find with the *Century Dictionary*, though he admits 'that in comprehensiveness of vocabulary' it 'surpasses every dictionary of the English language already completed.' His criticisms touch especially two points: the quotations and the etymology. Of the former he says: "The quotations have the appearance of having been put in here and there rather for the sake of ornament, for the look of the thing, than for any real help they give to the understanding of the word treated. In truth, the supply of quotations is poor and meagre in the extreme. . . . All the quotations are undated, and most of them are furnished with references absurdly vague, and perfectly useless for the purpose of verification or of accurate study." Of the etymology he has this opinion: "To our thinking, it would have been a great advantage to the dictionary if all the comparative philology had been left out; it takes up an immense amount of room without adding one iota to the scientific value of the book. We find here no evidence whatever of independent investigation, and after a good deal of careful investigation we are unable to report one single instance of a successful original etymology."

ALBERT S. COOK.

JOURNAL ASIATIQUE.

Vol. XVIII (July-Dec., 1891).

Pp. 13-16. M. Jos. Halévy offers some observations on the Phœnician inscriptions of Panémou and of Sidon, recently published by M. Renan in the *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*, II, No. 3. He also sends two more instalments of his transliteration and translation of the famous correspondence of Amenophis III and Amenophis IV (*A. J. P.* XII 254 and 380), consisting of thirty-nine letters of Rib-Addi, Arad-hiba of Jerusalem and others to the king of Egypt (pp. 134-85, 510-36).

Pp. 46-86. M. Max van Berchem continues his article on Arabic archaeology, with special reference to the monuments of the Fatimites and their inscriptions.

Pp. 87-133, 201-78, 382-440. The French Academy offered in the year 1891 the *prix Bordin* for the best work on the political history, the religious

development and literary activity of Edessa prior to the first crusade. The prize was won by M. Rubens Duval, and the *Journal Asiatique* has undertaken to publish it in a series of articles. The essay begins with a topographical description of the city and the origin of the Edessene kingdom. The first authentic mention of Edessa in Greek writers connects it with Seleucus Nicator, 304 B. C., who greatly increased its prosperity and was probably the bestower of the name Edessa, after that of the ancient capital of Macedonia. The etymology from Syriac *Haditha*, or New-Town, cannot be accepted. The ancient name *Καλλυρόη*, found in Greek writers, undoubtedly alludes to its fountains; this, according to some authorities, was abbreviated into *ρόη*, whence the Old Syriac name *Urhoi* (*'Oppa*), *Er-Roha* among the Arabs, and *Orfa* among the Turks and Modern Syrians; but this is very doubtful. The kingdom of Edessa was founded by Nabateans in 312 B. C. They were originally united with the Arabians, but allied themselves with the Parthians after their migration towards north. Following in the main the results of Gutschmid, Duval prints a list, chronology and history of the 33 kings from 132 B. C. to A. D. 244. Very little is known of the early religion of Edessa; there was no national god, star- and sun-worship prevailing. Duval then discusses the legend of Abgar, his letter to Jesus and Christ's answer, and Abgar's letter to Tiberius. The Apostle Thomas, whose relics are preserved in the city, sent Addai to Edessa to preach the Gospel; his successors were Aggai and Palout. The sixth chapter treats of the Jewish-Christian legends, which identified the city with the *Erech* of Genesis x. 10, while other local traditions make it the same as *Ur* of the Chaldees. Then follows an account of the early history of Christianity and the beginning of literature at Edessa. The *Peshitta* was written in Edessa, probably toward the middle of the second century of our era, at the same time when Tatian wrote his *Diatessaron*. To the same period belong the founder of the gnostic heresies in Edessa, Bardesanes (*Bar-Daiçân*, 154-222 A. D.) and his son Harmonius. Bardesanes is said to have held a disputation with Apollonius, and is known to have written against the Marcionite and other heresies. Christianity had taken fast root in the city, the first church having been built toward the close of the second century. The spread of Christianity and that of Gnosticism as well gave rise to the development of Syriac literature, especially apocryphal writings and apologetics. After the conquest of Edessa by Lusius Quietus, Trajan's general, the kingdom became tributary in 116. Restored by Hadrian, it was finally abolished by Caracalla, and a Roman military colony was established, with the title of *Colonia Marcia Edessorum*. Many Christians were martyred during the persecutions of Decius, Diocletian and Licinius. By the time of Julian the wealth of the Christians was sufficient to attract his revengeful cupidity, and he allowed the Arians to persecute the orthodox church. The most celebrated father of the Syrian church, and one of its most voluminous and widely read writers, was Ephraem Syrus, the 'prophet of the Syrians,' who died in June, 373. Great theological schools were established, and the city became one of the chief seats of Oriental learning. Most famous of all was the *schola Persica*, or Persian school; but its professors having adopted the Nestorian heresy, were expelled by Martyrus the Bishop, and the building was destroyed in 349, and replaced by St. Mary's church.

Pp. 279-355. M. le Baron Carra de Vaux has an article on the treatise of

harmony in music, being the letter of Safi ed-dîn 'abd el-Mumin Albaghdâdi (about 1258 A. D.) to Sharaf ed-dîn, of which he gives a translation, with commentary.

Pp. 356-69. M. G. Deveria publishes some notes on the Lolos and the Miao-tze of China, with special reference to the recent excellent work of M. P. Vial, *De la langue et de l'écriture indigènes au Yün-nân* (Angers, 1890).

Pp. 440-509. The Sanskrit text of the *Vajracchedikâ*, or 'cleaver of the diamond,' was first published by F. Max Müller in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (1881); the Chinese and Mandchu versions are scarcely known in Europe. M. C. de Harlez now publishes for the first time a translation of the sutra in 32 paragraphs, with extracts from the commentary of Lü-tsu and a comparison with the Chinese and Mandchu versions. The main doctrines of the treatise are in accord with the teachings of Brahmanistic Buddhism.

Nouvelles et Mélanges.

Pp. 186-200. In vol. XVI, pp. 511-22, M. J. Oppert discussed an astronomical inscription, first published by Father Strassmaier as No. 400 of the inscriptions of Cambyses. Some of his remarks were directed against the results reached by Epping in his book, *Astronomisches aus Babylon* (Freiburg, 1889). Epping's answer to these objections (pp. 186-88) is replied to by Oppert (pp. 189-91).—M. le Baron Carra de Vaux recommends É. Lacoine's *Tables de concordance des dates des calendriers arabe, copte, grégorien, israélite, julien, républicain, etc., établies d'après une nouvelle méthode* (Paris, 1891, pp. 80, 8vo).—M. B. de Meynard calls Vital Guinet's book, *La Turquie d'Asie, géographique, administrative, statistique, descriptive et raisonnée de chaque province de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1891), a good and useful book, for which the author deserves our sincerest thanks and encouragement. He also notices favorably Habib-efendi's *Debestân-ê-parsy*, or *Manual of the Persian Language*.

Pp. 370-80. M. L. Feer reviews *A Comparative Dictionary of the Bihâri Language*, by A. F. R. Hoernle and G. A. Gierson, pts. 1 and 2; Calcutta, 1885 and 1889, in 4to. "Voici une belle et grande entreprise . . . puissent les auteurs avoir le temps d'achever leur œuvre"! He also announces C. de Harlez' *Le Yi-King* (Bruxelles, 1889, pp. 155, in 4to), a work the interpretation of which has puzzled European scholars.—M. O. Houâas notices G. Delphin's *Récueil de textes pour l'étude de l'arabe parlé* (Paris and Alger, 1891, pp. iv, 363), a work on the Algerian dialect of the Arabic language, of which a second part will soon appear.

Pp. 537-60. M. B. de Meynard reads a communication from M. H. Pognon "On two bricks with Aramean characters found in Babylon." He also reviews C. de Harlez' *Les Religions de la Chine* (Leipzig, 1891), M. Margousian's *Balance de la poésie* (Constantinople, 1891), and C. Salemann's *Noch einmal die Seldschukischen Verse* (St. Pétersbourg, 1891).—M. Jos. Halévy discusses some Assyro-Palestinian names of persons and places which occur in the Gudea inscriptions and the El-Amarna find.—M. Sylvain Lévi presents a new interpretation of *Devânâmpriya*, an official title assumed by Açoka-Piyadasi in his inscriptions and only given to royal persons. Kâtyâyana's knowledge of the meaning of this word, which became obsolete soon after the reign of Piyadasi, points to his being a contemporary with that king or his immediate successors.

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

BRIEF MENTION.

Mr. E. C. MARCHANT, whose intelligent interest in Greek syntax is abundantly manifest in his *Andokides* and his various contributions to the *Classical Review*, has recently put forth an edition of the *Second Book of Thucydides* (New York, Macmillan & Co.), which is ominously dedicated to Dr. Rutherford, whose critical methods he admires and imitates. It would be as useless at this late day to lift up a voice against Rutherford's 'double Dutch'¹ criticism as it would be cruel to add another stone to the cairn that has been heaped over his first edition of Herondas, and so, for the present at least, I pass by Mr. Marchant's treatment of the text of Thucydides to pause for a moment on some of his grammatical notes. One of them has already borne fruit, and in a little book entitled *Rules and Exercises in Greek Conditional and Relative Sentences*, Mr. G. S. FARNELL, otherwise a devoted follower of Goodwin, departs from his guide in obedience to Mr. Marchant's dictum, contained in the *Classical Review* for July, 1890, p. 320, and repeated in his note to Thuc. 2. 2. 4. "In a protasis to a condition in *oratio obliqua*, probably only the future indicative is ever changed into optative, so that the optative in protasis in *or. obl.*, except with the future, represents either *ἥν* and subj. or *εἰ* and opt. of the Recta." This is, of course, in direct contradiction to M. and T., §689, 3, 2, where Goodwin gives perfectly cogent examples from Xenophon, *Hell.* 5, 2, 32 and *An.* 6, 6, 25, to which he might have added *Oec.* 9, 18. For this rule Mr. Marchant frankly acknowledges his indebtedness to Stahl. In his *Quaestiones grammaticae ad Thucydidem pertinentes* (2 ed., 1886) that distinguished scholar lays down the canon for Thucydides that *εἰ* with the opt. in *oratio obliqua* must represent either an original *εἰ* with the opt. or *ἐάν* with the subj., and says that the same canon applies to Greek generally, the only exception being the fut. opt. The reason given for this exception is that *εἰ* with fut. opt. is open to no such ambiguity as would arise if *εἰ* with the opt. of *oratio obliqua* could represent *εἰ* with the ind. of present and perfect. But a certain amount of ambiguity is inevitable even in these *oratio obliqua* *εἰ*'s with the opt., as Stahl himself acknowledges by allowing a choice in the resolution between *εἰ* with opt. and *ἐάν* with the subj., and the avoidance of that ambiguity by the retention of the *oratio recta* construction is not a matter of grammatical correctness, but a norm of style, and belongs to the general category of *repraesentatio*. Thucydides, as is well known, leans to *repraesentatio*, Xenophon leans the other way, and hence most of the examples cited are from Xenophon. Indeed, if one could trust a recent work by JOOST, *Was ergibt sich aus dem Sprachgebrauch Xenophons in der Anabasis für die Behandlung der griechischen Syntax in der Schule?* (Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung), p. 237, Xenophon uses the

¹ M. Rutherford qui a beaucoup pratiqué les philologues hollandais, fera bien de méditer le proverbe *to out-herod Herod*. Il ne faut pas qu'on lui reproche de *out-cobet Cobet*. T. R., *Revue des études grecques*, III 11, p. 335.

oratio obliqua opt. for the logical condition with great freedom, but most of Joost's examples show that he has an utter lack of right conception, and of his 21 instances, all but a few fall away. Still, examples enough remain unshaken to enable us to understand why Mr. Marchant is constrained to except Xenophon. As has been said, we should expect Thukydides to prefer the indicative in the dependent logical condition, and we are not surprised to find that the only two *εἰ*'s with the fut. opt. (6, 30, 2; 6, 34, 5) may fairly be considered interrogative. See A. J. P. XIII 124. But what of 8, 92, 3? οὐκ ἔφη ὁ Θηραμένης εἰκὸς εἶναι ἐπ' Εὐβοίαν πλεούσας αὐτὰς ἐς Αἰγίναν κατακολπίσαι καὶ πάλιν ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ ὀρμεῖν, εἰ μὴ παρακληθεῖσαι ἤκοιεν ἔφ' ὅσπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀεὶ κατηγορεῖ. Here the condition must be *εἰ μὴ παρακληθεῖσαι ἤκουσιν*, for it is an argument based on an accomplished fact, as the context shows. Again, Kleon's sneer at Nikias (4, 27, 5) becomes much more effective, if *εἰ ἄνδρες εἰεν οἱ στρατηγοί* is put back into *εἰ ἄνδρες εἰσίν* than if we take the tamer *ἦν ἄνδρες ὥσιν*. The logical condition is the very form for personal argument (A. J. P. III 435, cf. 438). In Herodotos, 3, 28: ἀπικμένος εἰη naturally represents ἀπικμένος ἐστί, and Mr. Marchant, who understands Andokides so well and has edited him so well, seems to have overlooked a clear case in 1, 122: ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺτους ὥς εἰ ἐτι καὶ νῦν βουλοίμην ἀποστῆναι τῆς Ἐπιδόκου θυγατρὸς, ἔτοιμος εἰη παύσασθαι με κακῶς ποιῶν. To be sure, there is a verb of will in the sentence, and that always complicates matters, but here we may confidently resolve into the indicative. Cf. §120: εἰ μὲν σὺ βούλει ἐπιδικάζεσθαι, ἔχε τύχην ἀγαθὴν, εἰ δὲ μή, ἐγὼ ἐπιδικάσομαι. At all events, it will be as well to postpone the 'simplification' of which Mr. Farnell speaks until all the evidence is in.

Unfortunate in his reliance on Stahl, Mr. Marchant is not less unfortunate in his echo of Classen. In his well-known appendix to Thuk. 4, 63, 2, Classen calls the predicative use of the participle in 2, 49, 4: μετὰ ταῦτα λωφῆσαντα and 6, 3, 3: μετὰ Συρακούσας οἰκισθείσας an experiment, forgetting that he himself had cited nearly a score of examples in his *Homerischer Sprachgebrauch*, p. 59. And then he goes on to say: "Man darf billig fragen, weshalb diese leichte Structur, die im Lateinischen zu geläufigstem Gebrauche (post, ante urbem conditam u. dgl.) gelangt ist, im Griechischen wie es scheint völlig wiederaufgegeben ist." And so Mr. Marchant (c. 2, 1): "It is strange that this use, so common in Latin, dropped out of Greek." It is common in Latin, indeed, produces the impression of being much more common in Latin than in Greek, as the predicative participle generally seems to be much more common in Latin than in Greek (see my *Pindar, Introductory Essay*, cxiii), but this impression is due, in part, to the character of the Latin authors with whom we are most familiar. See Schmalz, *Lat. Synt.*², p. 439, who traces the growth and the sphere of the construction in a way that stirs doubts as to its native Latinity. It would be too horrible if *post urbem conditam* were a Grecism, as Milton's 'since created man' is a Latinism. But when did the construction drop out? It seems to be grounded in the language. We have found it in Homer. It is familiar in Herodotos, who says μετὰ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον (1, 34) with the same easy grace that he says ἅμα κινδυνεύοντι (1, 8). Antiphon says, 5, 35: τὸν μὲν ἔλεγχον τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπεστέρει δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ σώματος ἀπολλυ-

μένον, where Blass makes himself unnecessarily unhappy. Lysias 4, 10, whether Lysias or Pseudo-Lysias, has a construction that matches Antiphon's: ἐξὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρώπου βασανισθείσης τὸν ἐλεγχον ποιήσασθαι. Plato, Symp. 198 B, cited by Goodwin, M. and T., §829 δ, is not a convincing example, but 183 E is not to be impugned: ἅμα τῷ τοῦ σώματος ἀνδρὶ λήγοντι (cf. Tim. 37 E). Poor Xenophon is put out of court, as usual, with his σύν τῷ φόβῳ λήγοντι (Cyr. 4, 5, 21) and the rest of his σύν's. But we cannot get rid of Demosthenes so easily, who says, 18, 57: ἀπὸ τούτων ἐξεταζομένων εὐρεθήσεται, even if some editors, not always the best, forsake Σ in §32 and read διὰ τούτους τοὺς οὐχὶ πεισθέντας instead of διὰ τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας, where see Voemel. Mr. Marchant counts ἐπὶ with gen. and part., under 2, 2, 1, and it is found in 5, 25, 1 also, but not in the passages cited by Kühner, II 430. It is familiar in Herodotos (1, 15, 65 and elsewhere). It is, in fact, a well-known legal formula and has not dropped out of Attic inscriptions any more than it has dropped out of Aristophanes, who has it, Ach. 67: ἐπ' Εὐθυμένους ἀρχοντος. The principle is the same whether ἀρχοντος is used as a substantive or not. As for μετὰ, which is the special experiment, we find Isai. 8, 43: μετ' Εὐκλείδην ἀρχοντα (cf. Dem. 24, 134). But the matter is not worth pressing, except so far as it emphasizes the pious wish that we had a syntactical catena to bind the hands of grammatical mischief-makers.

Among other matters, the inevitable μή for οὐ comes up in c. 17, 2: τὸ μαντεῖον προῖδει μὴ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ποτε αὐτὸ κατοικισθόμενον, and we are told by Mr. Marchant that "after οἶδα the regular negative is οὐ," and that "This μή cannot be explained by any distinction in sense, and is probably a colloquial license." If he had said an 'oracular license' he would have been nearer the mark, for μή may be called the oracular negative, and the participle follows the analogy of the infinitive. To foreknow is a manner of foreordainment, and the transition is easily understood. Comp. Herod. 6, 66 (of an oracle): ἐκρινε μὴ Ἀρίστωνος εἶναι Δημάρητον παῖδα (A. J. P. XII 388), and the solemn words of Dem. 6, 10: κέκρισθε γὰρ ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἔργων μόνοι τῶν πάντων μηδενὸς ἂν κέρδους τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων προέσθαι. It is a verdict, and carries with it a binding force. For another μή with participle after οἶδα see Thuc. 1, 76, 1: εὐ ἴσμεν μὴ ἂν ἦσσαν ὑμᾶς λυπηροὺς γενομένους, which goes back to the principle laid down A. J. P. I 48 (comp. Morris's note) and which may be rendered 'we dare swear (from what we know),' or, as Mr. Cook-Wilson renders it, 'we warrant you'—a translation which helps us to understand the oracular case also. It is a manner of πίστῳσις, and follows πιστεύω. See also Jebb on Oed. C. 656, and Humphreys on Antig. 1064. To understand οὐ and μή a certain mobility is necessary, and particular and generic are often poor formulae. In the fresh period of the language a μή of will or desire is more apt to overleap mechanical barriers than is the generic to invade the particular, and the image of *oratio recta* οὐ is not unfrequently reflected in dependent discourse to the discomfiture of will and desire. The shift is of the essence of the negative in Aryan speech.

Dr. JOWETT's *Translation of Plato* has appeared in a third edition, revised and corrected throughout (New York, Macmillan & Co.), and we are informed, with all the emphasis of a separate page, that the additions and alterations

had derived from their Southern masters was effaced by the calamities of the fifth century."

The Book Notices are omitted.

The Miscellanea contains an article by H. Schuchardt on Indo-English, and Notes on Old English Homilies, Second Series, by F. Holthausen.

III.—E. H. Oliphant, The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher.

A. Rambeau, Phonetics in the Teaching of Languages and German Pronunciation.

H. Klinghardt, Swedish Examinations.

The Book Notices contain reviews of Skeat's *Minor Poems and Legend of Good Women*, by J. Koch; of Tyler's *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, by Max Koch; of Gaedertz' *Old English Stage*, by Ludwig Fränkel; of Bülbring's *Defoe's Compleat English Gentleman*, by Felix Bobertag; and of the *Century Dictionary*, by A. L. Mayhew. Koch complains that Skeat observes no fixed principles in the constitution of his text, and Mayhew has much fault to find with the *Century Dictionary*, though he admits 'that in comprehensiveness of vocabulary' it 'surpasses every dictionary of the English language already completed.' His criticisms touch especially two points: the quotations and the etymology. Of the former he says: "The quotations have the appearance of having been put in here and there rather for the sake of ornament, for the look of the thing, than for any real help they give to the understanding of the word treated. In truth, the supply of quotations is poor and meagre in the extreme. . . . All the quotations are undated, and most of them are furnished with references absurdly vague, and perfectly useless for the purpose of verification or of accurate study." Of the etymology he has this opinion: "To our thinking, it would have been a great advantage to the dictionary if all the comparative philology had been left out; it takes up an immense amount of room without adding one iota to the scientific value of the book. We find here no evidence whatever of independent investigation, and after a good deal of careful investigation we are unable to report one single instance of a successful original etymology."

ALBERT S. COOK.

JOURNAL ASIATIQUE.

Vol. XVIII (July-Dec., 1891).

Pp. 13-16. M. Jos. Halévy offers some observations on the Phoenician inscriptions of Panémou and of Sidon, recently published by M. Renan in the *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*, II, No. 3. He also sends two more instalments of his transliteration and translation of the famous correspondence of Amenophis III and Amenophis IV (A. J. P. XII 254 and 380), consisting of thirty-nine letters of Rib-Addi, Arad-hiba of Jerusalem and others to the king of Egypt (pp. 134-85, 510-36).

Pp. 46-86. M. Max van Berchem continues his article on Arabic archaeology, with special reference to the monuments of the Fatimites and their inscriptions.

Pp. 87-133, 201-78, 382-440. The French Academy offered in the year 1891 the *prix Bordin* for the best work on the political history, the religious

development and literary activity of Edessa prior to the first crusade. The prize was won by M. Rubens Duval, and the *Journal Asiatique* has undertaken to publish it in a series of articles. The essay begins with a topographical description of the city and the origin of the Edessene kingdom. The first authentic mention of Edessa in Greek writers connects it with Seleucus Nicator, 304 B. C., who greatly increased its prosperity and was probably the bestower of the name Edessa, after that of the ancient capital of Macedonia. The etymology from Syriac Ḥaditha, or New-Town, cannot be accepted. The ancient name *Καλλιρόη*, found in Greek writers, undoubtedly alludes to its fountains; this, according to some authorities, was abbreviated into *ρόη*, whence the Old Syriac name *Urhoi* ('*Oppa*'), *Er-Roha* among the Arabs, and *Orfa* among the Turks and Modern Syrians; but this is very doubtful. The kingdom of Edessa was founded by Nabateans in 312 B. C. They were originally united with the Arabians, but allied themselves with the Parthians after their migration towards north. Following in the main the results of Gutschmid, Duval prints a list, chronology and history of the 33 kings from 132 B. C. to A. D. 244. Very little is known of the early religion of Edessa; there was no national god, star- and sun-worship prevailing. Duval then discusses the legend of Abgar, his letter to Jesus and Christ's answer, and Abgar's letter to Tiberius. The Apostle Thomas, whose relics are preserved in the city, sent Addai to Edessa to preach the Gospel; his successors were Aggai and Palout. The sixth chapter treats of the Jewish-Christian legends, which identified the city with the Erech of Genesis x. 10, while other local traditions make it the same as Ur of the Chaldees. Then follows an account of the early history of Christianity and the beginning of literature at Edessa. The *Peshiṭta* was written in Edessa, probably toward the middle of the second century of our era, at the same time when Tatian wrote his *Diatessaron*. To the same period belong the founder of the gnostic heresies in Edessa, Bardesanes (*Bar-Daiṣān*, 154-222 A. D.) and his son Harmonius. Bardesanes is said to have held a disputation with Apollonius, and is known to have written against the Marcionite and other heresies. Christianity had taken fast root in the city, the first church having been built toward the close of the second century. The spread of Christianity and that of Gnosticism as well gave rise to the development of Syriac literature, especially apocryphal writings and apologetics. After the conquest of Edessa by Lusius Quietus, Trajan's general, the kingdom became tributary in 116. Restored by Hadrian, it was finally abolished by Caracalla, and a Roman military colony was established, with the title of *Colonia Marcia Edessorum*. Many Christians were martyred during the persecutions of Decius, Diocletian and Licinius. By the time of Julian the wealth of the Christians was sufficient to attract his revengeful cupidity, and he allowed the Arians to persecute the orthodox church. The most celebrated father of the Syrian church, and one of its most voluminous and widely read writers, was Ephraem Syrus, the 'prophet of the Syrians,' who died in June, 373. Great theological schools were established, and the city became one of the chief seats of Oriental learning. Most famous of all was the *schola Persica*, or Persian school; but its professors having adopted the Nestorian heresy, were expelled by Martyrus the Bishop, and the building was destroyed in 349, and replaced by St. Mary's church.

Pp. 279-355. M. le Baron Carra de Vaux has an article on the treatise of

harmony in music, being the letter of Safi ed-dîn 'abd el-Mumin Albaghddâdi (about 1258 A. D.) to Sharaf ed-dîn, of which he gives a translation, with commentary.

Pp. 356-69. M. G. Deveria publishes some notes on the Lolos and the Miao-tze of China, with special reference to the recent excellent work of M. P. Vial, *De la langue et de l'écriture indigènes au Yün-nân* (Angers, 1890).

Pp. 440-509. The Sanskrit text of the *Vajracchedikâ*, or 'cleaver of the diamond,' was first published by F. Max Müller in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (1881); the Chinese and Mandchu versions are scarcely known in Europe. M. C. de Harlez now publishes for the first time a translation of the sutra in 32 paragraphs, with extracts from the commentary of Lü-tsu and a comparison with the Chinese and Mandchu versions. The main doctrines of the treatise are in accord with the teachings of Brahmanistic Buddhism.

Nouvelles et Mélanges.

Pp. 186-200. In vol. XVI, pp. 511-22, M. J. Oppert discussed an astronomical inscription, first published by Father Strassmaier as No. 400 of the inscriptions of Cambyses. Some of his remarks were directed against the results reached by Epping in his book, *Astronomisches aus Babylon* (Freiburg, 1889). Epping's answer to these objections (pp. 186-88) is replied to by Oppert (pp. 189-91).—M. le Baron Carra de Vaux recommends É. Lacoine's *Tables de concordance des dates des calendriers arabe, copte, grégorien, israélite, julien, républicain, etc., établis d'après une nouvelle méthode* (Paris, 1891, pp. 80, 8vo).—M. B. de Meynard calls Vital Guinet's book, *La Turquie d'Asie, géographique, administrative, statistique, descriptive et raisonnée de chaque province de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1891), a good and useful book, for which the author deserves our sincerest thanks and encouragement. He also notices favorably Habib-efendi's *Debestân-è-parsy*, or *Manual of the Persian Language*.

Pp. 370-80. M. L. Feer reviews *A Comparative Dictionary of the Bihâri Language*, by A. F. R. Hoernle and G. A. Gierston, pts. 1 and 2; Calcutta, 1885 and 1889, in 4to. "Voici une belle et grande entreprise . . . puissent les auteurs avoir le temps d'achever leur œuvre"! He also announces C. de Harlez' *Le Yi-King* (Bruxelles, 1889, pp. 155, in 4to), a work the interpretation of which has puzzled European scholars.—M. O. Houdas notices G. Delphin's *Récueil de textes pour l'étude de l'arabe parlé* (Paris and Alger, 1891, pp. iv, 363), a work on the Algerian dialect of the Arabic language, of which a second part will soon appear.

Pp. 537-60. M. B. de Meynard reads a communication from M. H. Pognon "On two bricks with Aramean characters found in Babylon." He also reviews C. de Harlez' *Les Religions de la Chine* (Leipzig, 1891), M. Margousian's *Balance de la poesie* (Constantinople, 1891), and C. Salemann's *Noch einmal die Seldschukischen Verse* (St. Pétersbourg, 1891).—M. Jos. Halévy discusses some Assyro-Palestinian names of persons and places which occur in the Gudea inscriptions and the El-Amarna find.—M. Sylvain Lévi presents a new interpretation of *Devânâmpriya*, an official title assumed by Açoka-Piyadasi in his inscriptions and only given to royal persons. Kâtyâyana's knowledge of the meaning of this word, which became obsolete soon after the reign of Piyadasi, points to his being a contemporary with that king or his immediate successors.

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

BRIEF MENTION.

Mr. E. C. MARCHANT, whose intelligent interest in Greek syntax is abundantly manifest in his *Andokides* and his various contributions to the *Classical Review*, has recently put forth an edition of the *Second Book of Thucydides* (New York, Macmillan & Co.), which is ominously dedicated to Dr. Rutherford, whose critical methods he admires and imitates. It would be as useless at this late day to lift up a voice against Rutherford's 'double Dutch'¹ criticism as it would be cruel to add another stone to the cairn that has been heaped over his first edition of Herondas, and so, for the present at least, I pass by Mr. Marchant's treatment of the text of Thucydides to pause for a moment on some of his grammatical notes. One of them has already borne fruit, and in a little book entitled *Rules and Exercises in Greek Conditional and Relative Sentences*, Mr. G. S. FARNELL, otherwise a devoted follower of Goodwin, departs from his guide in obedience to Mr. Marchant's dictum, contained in the *Classical Review* for July, 1890, p. 320, and repeated in his note to Thuc. 2, 2, 4. "In a protasis to a condition in *oratio obliqua*, probably only the future indicative is ever changed into optative, so that the optative in protasis in *or. obl.*, except with the future, represents either *ἥν* and subj. or *εἰ* and opt. of the Recta." This is, of course, in direct contradiction to M. and T., §689, 3, 2, where Goodwin gives perfectly cogent examples from Xenophon, Hell. 5, 2, 32 and An. 6, 6, 25, to which he might have added Oec. 9, 18. For this rule Mr. Marchant frankly acknowledges his indebtedness to Stahl. In his *Quaestiones grammaticae ad Thucydidem pertinentes* (2 ed., 1886) that distinguished scholar lays down the canon for Thucydides that *εἰ* with the opt. in *oratio obliqua* must represent either an original *εἰ* with the opt. or *εἰάν* with the subj., and says that the same canon applies to Greek generally, the only exception being the fut. opt. The reason given for this exception is that *εἰ* with fut. opt. is open to no such ambiguity as would arise if *εἰ* with the opt. of *oratio obliqua* could represent *εἰ* with the ind. of present and perfect. But a certain amount of ambiguity is inevitable even in these *oratio obliqua* *εἰ*'s with the opt., as Stahl himself acknowledges by allowing a choice in the resolution between *εἰ* with opt. and *εἰάν* with the subj., and the avoidance of that ambiguity by the retention of the *oratio recta* construction is not a matter of grammatical correctness, but a norm of style, and belongs to the general category of *repraesentatio*. Thucydides, as is well known, leans to *repraesentatio*, Xenophon leans the other way, and hence most of the examples cited are from Xenophon. Indeed, if one could trust a recent work by JOOST, *Was ergibt sich aus dem Sprachgebrauch Xenophons in der Anabasis für die Behandlung der griechischen Syntax in der Schule?* (Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung), p. 237, Xenophon uses the

¹ M. Rutherford qui a beaucoup pratiqué les philologues hollandais, fera bien de méditer le proverbe *to ont-herod Herod.* Il ne faut pas qu'on lui reproche de *ont-cobet Cobet.* T. R., Revue des études grecques, III 12, p. 335.

oratio obliqua opt. for the logical condition with great freedom, but most of Joost's examples show that he has an utter lack of right conception, and of his 21 instances, all but a few fall away. Still, examples enough remain unshaken to enable us to understand why Mr. Marchant is constrained to except Xenophon. As has been said, we should expect Thukydides to prefer the indicative in the dependent logical condition, and we are not surprised to find that the only two *εἰ*'s with the fut. opt. (6, 30, 2; 6, 34, 5) may fairly be considered interrogative. See A. J. P. XIII 124. But what of 8, 92, 3?: οὐκ ἔφη ὁ Θηραμένης εἰκὸς εἶναι ἐπ' Εὐβοίαν πλεούσας αὐτὰς ἐς Αἰγίαν κατακολπίσαι καὶ πάλιν ἐν Ἐπίδαρῳ ὀρμεῖν, εἰ μὴ παρακληθεῖσαι ἥκοιεν ἐφ' οἷσπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀεὶ κατηγόρει. Here the condition must be *εἰ μὴ παρακληθεῖσαι ἥκουσιν*, for it is an argument based on an accomplished fact, as the context shows. Again, Kleon's sneer at Nikias (4, 27, 5) becomes much more effective, if *εἰ ἄνδρες εἰεν οἱ στρατηγοί* is put back into *εἰ ἄνδρες εἰσὶν* than if we take the tamer *ἦν ἄνδρες ὥσιν*. The logical condition is the very form for personal argument (A. J. P. III 435, cf. 438). In Herodotos, 3, 28: ἀπιγμένος εἴη naturally represents ἀπιγμένος ἐστί, and Mr. Marchant, who understands Andokides so well and has edited him so well, seems to have overlooked a clear case in 1, 122: ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺτους ὥς εἰ ἐτι καὶ νῦν βουλοίμην ἀποστῆναι τῆς Ἐπιλόκου θυγατρὸς, ἔτοιμος εἴη παύσασθαι με κακῶς ποιῶν. To be sure, there is a verb of will in the sentence, and that always complicates matters, but here we may confidently resolve into the indicative. Cf. §120: εἰ μὲν σὺ βούλει ἐπιδικάζεσθαι, ἔχε τύχην ἀγαθὴν, εἰ δὲ μή, ἐγὼ ἐπιδικάσομαι. At all events, it will be as well to postpone the 'simplification' of which Mr. Farnell speaks until all the evidence is in.

Unfortunate in his reliance on Stahl, Mr. Marchant is not less unfortunate in his echo of Classen. In his well-known appendix to Thuk. 4, 63, 2, Classen calls the predicative use of the participle in 2, 49, 4: μετὰ ταῦτα λωφίσαντα and 6, 3, 3: μετὰ Συρακούσας οἰκισθείσας an experiment, forgetting that he himself had cited nearly a score of examples in his *Homerischer Sprachgebrauch*, p. 59. And then he goes on to say: "Man darf billig fragen, weshalb diese leichte Structur, die im Lateinischen zu geläufigstem Gebrauche (post, ante urbem conditam u. dgl.) gelangt ist, im Griechischen wie es scheint völlig wiederaufgegeben ist." And so Mr. Marchant (c. 2, 1): "It is strange that this use, so common in Latin, dropped out of Greek." It *is* common in Latin, indeed, produces the impression of being much more common in Latin than in Greek, as the predicative participle generally seems to be much more common in Latin than in Greek (see my Pindar, Introductory Essay, cxiii), but this impression is due, in part, to the character of the Latin authors with whom we are most familiar. See Schmalz, *Lat. Synt.*², p. 439, who traces the growth and the sphere of the construction in a way that stirs doubts as to its native Latinity. It would be too horrible if *post urbem conditam* were a Grecism, as Milton's 'since created man' is a Latinism. But when did the construction drop out? It seems to be grounded in the language. We have found it in Homer. It is familiar in Herodotos, who says μετὰ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον (1, 34) with the same easy grace that he says ἅμα κινθῶνι ἐκδονόμενον (1, 8). Antiphon says, 5, 35: τὸν μὲν ἔλεγχον τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπεστέρει δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ σώματος ἀπολλύ-

μένον, where Blass makes himself unnecessarily unhappy. Lysias 4, 10, whether Lysias or Pseudo-Lysias, has a construction that matches Antiphon's: ἐξὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρώπου βασανισθείσης τὸν ἐλεγχον ποιήσασθαι. Plato, Symp. 198 B, cited by Goodwin, M. and T., §829 b, is not a convincing example, but 183 E is not to be impugned: ἅμα τῷ τοῦ σώματος ἀνθεὶ λήγοντι (cf. Tim. 37 E). Poor Xenophon is put out of court, as usual, with his σύν τῷ φόβῳ λήγοντι (Cyr. 4, 5, 21) and the rest of his σύν's. But we cannot get rid of Demosthenes so easily, who says, 18, 57: ἀπὸ τούτων ἐξεταζομένων εὔρεθήσεται, even if some editors, not always the best, forsake Σ in §32 and read διὰ τούτους τοὺς οὐχὶ πεισθέντας instead of διὰ τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας, where see Voemel. Mr. Marchant counts ἐπί with gen. and part., under 2, 2, 1, and it is found in 5, 25, 1 also, but not in the passages cited by Kühner, II 430. It is familiar in Herodotos (1, 15, 65 and elsewhere). It is, in fact, a well-known legal formula and has not dropped out of Attic inscriptions any more than it has dropped out of Aristophanes, who has it, Ach. 67: ἐπ' Εὐθυμένους ἄρχοντος. The principle is the same whether ἄρχοντος is used as a substantive or not. As for μετὰ, which is the special experiment, we find Isai. 8, 43: μετ' Εὐκλείδην ἄρχοντα (cf. Dem. 24, 134). But the matter is not worth pressing, except so far as it emphasizes the pious wish that we had a syntactical catena to bind the hands of grammatical mischief-makers.

Among other matters, the inevitable μή for οὐ comes up in c. 17, 2: τὸ μαντεῖον προῖδει μὴ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ποτε αὐτὸ κατοικισθόμενον, and we are told by Mr. Marchant that "after οἶδα the regular negative is οὐ," and that "This μή cannot be explained by any distinction in sense, and is probably a colloquial license." If he had said an 'oracular license' he would have been nearer the mark, for μή may be called the oracular negative, and the participle follows the analogy of the infinitive. To foreknow is a manner of foreordainment, and the transition is easily understood. Comp. Herod. 6, 66 (of an oracle): ἔκρινε μὴ Ἀρίστωνος εἶναι Δημάρητον παῖδα (A. J. P. XII 388), and the solemn words of Dem. 6, 10: κέκρισθε γὰρ ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἔργων μόνον τῶν πάντων μηδενὸς ἂν κέρδους τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων προέσθαι. It is a verdict, and carries with it a binding force. For another μή with participle after οἶδα see Thuc. 1, 76, 1: εὐ ἴσμεν μὴ ἂν ἦσσαν ὑμᾶς λυπηροὺς γενομένους, which goes back to the principle laid down A. J. P. I 48 (comp. Morris's note) and which may be rendered 'we dare swear (from what we know),' or, as Mr. Cook-Wilson renders it, 'we warrant you'—a translation which helps us to understand the oracular case also. It is a manner of πίστῳσις, and follows πιστεύω. See also Jebb on Oed. C. 656, and Humphreys on Antig. 1064. To understand οὐ and μή a certain mobility is necessary, and particular and generic are often poor formulae. In the fresh period of the language a μή of will or desire is more apt to overleap mechanical barriers than is the generic to invade the particular, and the image of *oratio recta* οὐ is not unfrequently reflected in dependent discourse to the discomfiture of will and desire. The shift is of the essence of the negative in Aryan speech.

Dr. JOWETT's *Translation of Plato* has appeared in a third edition, revised and corrected throughout (New York, Macmillan & Co.), and we are informed, with all the emphasis of a separate page, that the additions and alterations

that have been made, both in the Introductions and in the Text of this Edition, affect at least a third of the work. This will be sad news for some poor scholars—Jowett's Plato is a costly work—but good news for the world of letters, and the earlier editions will still have their value as a study in the progressive art of translation. An English classic in a certain sense Dr. Jowett's work was in its earlier form. How much better in this its third and haply final form it will serve its office of introducing the student to the mind of Plato is a matter for further consideration.

The deserved success of the *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. by IWAN VON MÜLLER and published by Beck of Munich, has made new editions of several of the volumes necessary, and new editions bring with them enlargements as well as corrections. Some of these new editions have been noticed in these pages, such as Brugmann's *Greek Grammar*. Schmalz and Stolz's *Latin Grammar* was expanded at the same time. Of Christ's *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*, a trustworthy compendium and the only recent work that covers the field from the beginning to Justinian, a second edition was soon demanded, and now we greet the completion of the second edition of the first volume, which contains the *History of Classical Philology, Hermeneutics and Criticism, Palaeography, Epigraphy, Chronology and Metrology*. This volume has not only been revised and enlarged, but in parts presents us with entirely new work. So, notably, LARFELD's *Griechische Epigraphik*, which takes the place of HINRICHS' treatise, is an elaborate textbook, and not a mere outline. In HÜBNER's *Römische Epigraphik* the only expansion permitted by the narrow space assigned to the treatise is in the chapter on the characters. A new edition of the first part of the fourth volume has also appeared, and BUSOLT's admirable work, *Die griechischen Staats- u. Rechtsaltertümer*, comes out in an enlarged form. At the present rate of issue, the student of classical philology must learn to class his *Handbuch* among his periodicals, and to practise a certain philosophy as to the diminished value of back numbers.

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